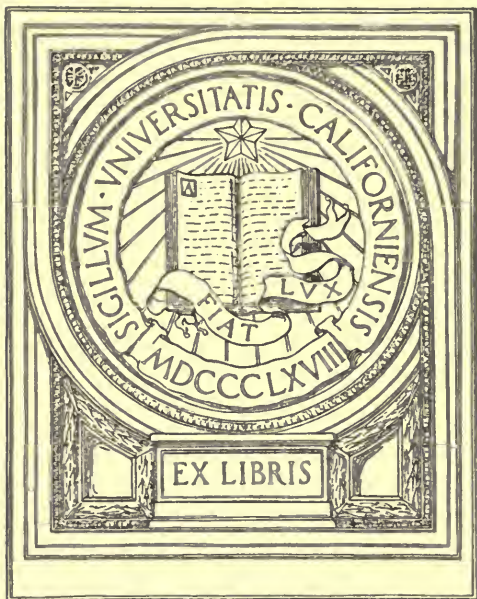


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S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG

To Dr. S. L. Millard Brown
With kind regards
Cheesman A. Kern
April 29, 1912.

RECLAIMING A COMMONWEALTH

AND

OTHER ESSAYS

BY

CHEESMAN A. HERRICK

JOHN JOSEPH McVEY
PHILADELPHIA

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To

TEACHER COUNSELOR FRIEND

CHARLES DeGARMO

Strong of Mind Generous of Heart Noble of Purpose

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PREFACE.

THE following essays are the outgrowth of occasional addresses and three magazine articles. All are educational in character. "Reclaiming a Commonwealth" appeared first in *The Outlook*, and "The Keystone of Power" in *The Metropolitan Magazine*. Both, however, have been rewritten and considerably enlarged. Certain observations based on a visit to European schools have been incorporated in the essay last named. Taken together they constitute a discussion of some important phases of educational tendencies and of present-day interests.

No attempt has been made to prepare a treatise. Though considerable investigation has been necessary for some of these studies, the effort has been to avoid the effect of a "contribution." If the mode of treatment has made the essays less scientific it has possibly made them more readable. Should the book bring to those into whose hands it falls pleasure at all comparable to the pleasure that has come from its preparation the author will be highly gratified.

The writer is pleased to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor William H. Mearns for his suggestions on several of the essays in manuscript, to Mr. Patterson Du Bois for a careful reading of all the manuscript and the proof, and to Principal W. D.

Lewis for his reading of the proof. Lucien Hugh Alexander, Esq., was good enough to supply much of the material for the essay on "Professional Ethics" and to read in manuscript this essay and the related one on "A New Commercialism." If the book has escaped errors and is free from faulty presentation it is due to the many helpful suggestions of these friends.

C. A. H.

Girard College.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
RECLAIMING A COMMONWEALTH	I
EDUCATION THE KEYSTONE OF POWER	17
OLD AND NEW EDUCATION	47
SAMUEL MILLER'S RETROSPECT	57
UNCONSCIOUS EDUCATION	79
THE NESTOR OF AMERICAN SCHOOLMASTERS	96
PROFESSIONAL ETHICS	106
A NEW COMMERCIALISM	123
SUPERVISION OF HIGH SCHOOLS	140
OLD AGE PENSIONS	164
RETIREMENT FUNDS FOR TEACHERS	185

I.

RECLAIMING A COMMONWEALTH.

NORTH CAROLINA was long considered the standing example of illiteracy and educational inefficiency. In a scientific study of education as late as 1900 she was placed with the lowest expenditure *per capita* for schools, and the lowest productive power *per capita*. A recent Governor of the State, and a group of men with whom he labored, proclaimed to the people of North Carolina from the tide-water regions to the mountain fastnesses, that theirs was the poorest State in the Union in dollars and cents, and the most illiterate save one.

Knowledge of the North State's part in the Civil War is necessary to understand her subsequent educational history. Attendance upon a State reunion of Confederate veterans at Greensboro taught a little of how great had been her sacrifice, how complete her subjugation. Broken and aged men, the shadow of their former selves, and of the armies in which they served, wore in their hats what they called a brag feather of the Tar Heels Brigade which recited their record, "First at Bethel, Foremost at Gettysburg, Furthest at Chickamauga, and Last at Appomattox." North Carolina, it should be further said, furnished largely in excess of her proportion of the Con-

federate army; from a war population of 141,000 she sent to the field 127,000, and of these 40,000 were lost.

But the loss of men was not all; infinitely greater were the wasted wealth and the crushed spirits of a people proud and brave. When the war was over, the special fund for the support of schools was gone, and the school-houses were deserted. The work of Calvin Wiley, former State Superintendent of Schools, closed with Sherman's occupation of Raleigh. To Sherman war meant hell; to North Carolina it meant illiteracy.

When the war closed the University of North Carolina was without occupation. School organization and school support had disappeared. Hopeless indeed was the outlook; material needs were considered first. It was ten years before the State University reopened her doors; but at once she began to work mightily for the educational renaissance of the State. In the first three classes were the recent Governor, Charles B. Aycock, on fire with educational enthusiasm; the present progressive State Superintendent of Public Instruction, James Y. Joyner, and Edwin A. Alderman, President successively of the University of North Carolina, Tulane University, and the University of Virginia, brilliant as an orator, and whose addresses present with convincing force that education of the whole people is the supreme need of a democracy. To these should be added the not less important work of another alumnus, the late Charles D. McIver, in the establishment of industrial training and the training of teachers, and as Secretary of the Southern Educational Board.

University of North Carolina men, headed by Alderman and McIver, were leaders in the summer institute movement, and graduates of this institution have assumed the superintendencies in more than one-half of the graded schools of the State. A considerable proportion of the county superintendents of schools are also from the State University. Any institution of the world might well be proud of the work of the younger as well as the older alumni of the University of North Carolina. Let it be said to her credit that with her University, North Carolina has been working out her own educational salvation; and already her influence has extended throughout the South and to the nation at large. One, writing from Boston in the *Educational Review* for December, 1907, tells that it is to the "illiterate" Southern state of North Carolina that we must go to find educational methods in practice which are superior to those being practiced in the North. North Carolina is believed by this writer to have reached high ideals in several directions: she has never permitted sectarianism to become an issue in the control of her schools; North Carolina has centralized her education, giving economy and efficiency of administration; this State is leading in improved architecture for rural schools; and, finally, North Carolina is believed to point useful lessons in wise and safe educational experimentation.

The educational abyss from which the State has arisen is shown by the testimony of the Hon. John C. Scarborough, who became State Superintendent of

Schools in 1877. There were then no institutions for the training of teachers, no provisions for teachers' institutes, and the Legislature, lest the Board of Education should exercise its general powers, had by law prohibited it from securing a clerk for the State Superintendent, or allowing him any money for traveling expenses.

Much preliminary work had been done, but down to 1900 progress was slight. A new qualification for electors was to be fixed in that year, and the man for the occasion was the standard-bearer of the majority party, Charles B. Aycock. Intelligence was the watchword of the campaign; a provision before the people was that no one, white or black, coming of age after 1908 should be allowed to vote unless he could read and write.

"Adopt this provision," said Aycock, "and if I am elected Governor it will be my chief aim to give every child in North Carolina the opportunities for an education." The wisdom of universal education was most convincingly presented, and partisan issues were largely ignored. "If you do not want more attention to education," said the frank and fearless candidate, "don't vote for me." Aycock himself made one hundred and eight speeches in that campaign, and his work was supplemented by others who took the keynote from their leader. The pledges of the candidate were widely printed in the press, but he was not content with this, and had his platform struck off in circulars and these distributed. As might have been

expected, Aycock was chosen by a handsome majority, and, best of all, he was as good as his word. "Redeeming the pledges" he termed his action. In season and out he preached the gospel of a new educational dispensation. The State levy for educational purposes was largely increased and the Governor worked directly and indirectly for additional local taxation. Marked progress was made in the following directions: improvement in the character of the schools, the introduction of the graded-school system into the smaller cities and villages, and the subdivision of larger districts so that schools are within reach of all.

Governor Aycock lost no opportunity to speak to his people on his chosen theme, and he was most skillful in suiting his messages to special occasions. One of his speeches at the county-seat of a remote mountain county was said to be typical. Waynesville, in the Blue Ridge valley, was to unveil a memorial tablet to the founder of the town. Announcements of this event stated that the Governor would be present and deliver an address. It was to the whole region a day of unusual interest, and the inhabitants for miles around thronged the streets. As the gathering was a representative one of the "mountain whites," one might well be curious to see how the educational Governor would be received. The exercises were held in the court-house, where all the available space was early occupied. One anxious visitor who happened to be a little late spent fifteen minutes in trying to get within hearing distance, and failed. The address and its

effect were little short of wonderful. From first to last, the words were of a man who knew his subject, and believed in it; who knew his auditors, and believed in them. The response showed that the hearers respected the speaker and that they respected his message.

The speaker began by reference to his former appearance on that platform, and to the promise then made, that if he were elected there would be furnished the best possible education for every boy and girl in North Carolina. "My election," he continued, "made my pledge that of the people of the State, and we became co-laborers in a great work." With true art, the belief was expressed that every man in the assemblage had voted for him, or if there was one who did not, he already was sorry for it. "I come to you, then," he said, "to give an account of my stewardship, and to ask that you keep faith with me by doing your part in the stupendous work of furnishing educational opportunity to all."

The occasion was made to teach its lesson; the founder of Waynesville had been a Revolutionary soldier, and the part of North Carolina in the Revolution, from the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence to the campaigns of Green, had a brilliant setting. Local pride was appealed to; it was west North Carolina that saved the "State of Franklin" to the Union, and Waynesville played an important part in that work. The marksmanship of Carolina riflemen received its meed of praise for service in the Second

War with Great Britain, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. In courage and heroic endeavor, the Governor declared his people to be second to none. "Indeed," he asserted, "North Carolinians are the best people in the world when they are doing the things they have been trained to do." The greatest shame to a North Carolinian, it was affirmed, was to be a coward, and the greatest disgrace to turn his back.

North Carolina was then boldly declared to be the poorest State in the Union, and the most illiterate save one. "God bless South Carolina!" said the speaker; "she has got us into a good deal of trouble, but she saves us the ignominy of being the most illiterate of States." Next the question was asked, "Why are you so poor? Is it because you are lazy? Yes, you are lazy. Is it because you are thriftless? Yes, you are thriftless. Is it because you are lawless? Yes, you are lawless; but you are neither more lazy, nor more lawless, than your neighbors. North Carolina is poor because she is illiterate. Massachusetts is rich, so rich that it sounds like a dream; but Massachusetts has furnished splendid educational opportunities. The trouble with North Carolina has been that we have too long depended on the education of the few. In our widely separated communities it has been, and is, difficult to bring education within reach of all; but the future welfare of the State depends upon this being done."

The speaker devoted himself to the proposition that the strength of a state can be adequately measured

by the average intelligence of its people, dwelling on this as it affects both political and industrial life. His illustrations were most pointed and convincing. "When you buy manufactured articles," said he, "you buy them from Massachusetts, and you pay for labor worth four dollars a day; but you pay in the products of your own labor, which is worth fifty cents a day. Now, what does this mean? Why, that you must give eight days of your labor for one day of that of the man in Massachusetts. This is because Massachusetts has taught her people to work, and North Carolina has not. Not that I urge a mere increase in wages," he continued; "doubling the wages of the people of North Carolina would not double our wealth; what we need is an increase in the efficiency of our workers. We need the application of intelligence to our work. In the Patent Office at Washington there is one patent for every 900 citizens in the United States at large, but there is but one for every 24,000 in North Carolina." Education was found to be knowing and doing something, and the man who knows and does the things that the times demand was declared to *be* something.

After disposing of universal education as a general proposition and showing the folly and shortsightedness of educating the few, the Governor spoke of the education of negroes. The one criticism urged against Charles B. Aycock was that he favored taxing white people to educate the blacks; but he declared that his plea for universal education in 1900 meant the edu-

cation of the blacks, and further, that when he said intelligence should rule, he did not mean to exclude the intelligent black man. Haywood County, in which the Governor was speaking, had about six hundred negroes in a total population of over sixteen thousand. and the sentiment was strong against the white support of schools for blacks. The discussion of negro education before that audience was like handling fire over a powder magazine.

After the orator was thoroughly *en rapport* with his audience, and his sentiments had been again and again applauded, he concluded a brilliant period with the statement, "Yes, and I believe in the education of niggers!" This was uttered with measured deliberation and intense feeling. The audience was awed. The speaker paused for the effect of what he had said, and noting disapproval, he added: "I perceive that I have created a gulf between myself and my audience; but," with deep intensity, "my—fellow-citizens,—you—believe—in—the—education—of—niggers!" The mountaineer admires courage, and probably nothing but the Governor's fearlessness saved him from being hissed.

One could but admire the skill with which Governor Aycock had captured the strongholds of ignorance and illiteracy; but when he rode full tilt at the fortifications of race prejudice, the seeming self-interest of his audience, and the traditions of over two hundred years, it seemed too much; one feared for the outcome. But the speaker was equal to the task. He began:

“ You believe in the education of a mule; he isn’t worth much until you break him; he must be educated to work; he will bring no return and be a source of expense until he is trained. You take your setter-pup or your fox-hound and school him; he would do more harm than good until he is educated. Now,” added the Governor, “ I think more of a nigger than I do of a mule or dog, and the reasons for educating a mule or a dog hold to a greater degree for educating a nigger. Intelligence and trained skill of our black men are necessary,” he continued, “ for the material welfare and political security of our State.” This was supplemented by a discussion of true and false education, illumining and convincing. A powerful plea was entered for the education of hand and mind, of white and black. The education that North Carolina needs, it was said, is that which shall train men to keep contracts inviolate, and which shall lead them into, not away from work.

The rest of the speech was directed toward removing the prejudice against local taxation for schools, and to inducing the people to make use of the educational facilities offered. The conclusion was reached, and presented with power that “ the best money spent by any community is that spent for schools,” and those from the local communities were urged to go home, call a meeting, and petition the proper officials for authority to place an extra levy for school purposes. The Governor said that the compelling power of public opinion must get and keep the children in school, that

the State had no compulsory educational law, and could not enforce one if it did have it. A burden of responsibility was laid upon the teachers to get children to school; the whole community was commissioned a vigilance committee to see that the youth did not grow up in ignorance. Withering was the arraignment of the man who whittles a white-pine stick at the cross-roads while his wife and children are making a living for themselves and him. "No man who respects himself," it was said, "ought to speak with such a one; tell him to go to work; to get his wife into the home and his children into the school, and then to come back and you will talk with him." The speaker hoped that he would yet see the men of North Carolina at work, the women in the homes, and the children in the schools. The ending of this appeal was: "Oh, I wish there wasn't a white-pine stick in the universe; we have spent fifty thousand years in North Carolina whittling white-pine sticks!" The speaker also expressed himself on the man who keeps his children from school because he says it will injure them to walk a mile or two to attend, but who at the same time compels them to carry corn three miles to a mill.

The conclusion was a call for self-sacrifice and labor: "This is our business," said the Governor; "education that we do not work for will do us little good. I would not accept schools as a free gift from a millionaire. I want the people of North Carolina to pay the price of education and then they will appreciate what it means." While the call was to a difficult task, the

speaker said he knew his people, and felt sure that they would not be found wanting. He had confidence in the unmixed and uncontaminated white race of North Carolina. As Governor, he bade his hearers join him in placing a school within the reach of every child of the State.

The logic of the speech was convincing, the earnestness of the speaker was irresistible, the response of the audience was spontaneous. Charles B. Aycock and those he modestly represented have been rehabilitating a State; they are building the broad foundations of universal education for the superstructure of North Carolina's political and economic future. Progress in recent years has been marked; already North Carolina can give a new account of herself. The *per capita* expenditure for education increased from sixteen cents in 1870 to fifty-one cents in 1900, while the average earning power of the people more than doubled in the decade ending 1900; but this was only the beginning. North Carolina's expenditures for public education more than doubled in the six years following 1900. McIver's ringing message for the support of schools deserves the widest currency :

Let us teach honestly and boldly that education is not only the best thing in our civilization for which public money can be used, but that, with the exception of ignorance, it is also the most expensive.

A systematic campaign for better school buildings

was begun in 1902, and for years one new building a day was said to have been added to the State's equipment. The state department of education in North Carolina has taken active interest in the construction of modern buildings and has issued detailed information, giving plans of school-houses, specifications for materials, and estimated costs.

High schools as well as ungraded schools have felt the uplift of the new educational spirit of North Carolina. Among the many signs of progress is the appointment of a State Inspector of Public High Schools in 1907, and the evidence of his work in a special handbook for high school teachers, giving courses of study, lists of text-books and reference books, with discussions on various aspects of high school work.

The recent educational progress of North Carolina is built on the State's past. Governor Aycock frequently quoted from the Bill of Rights of the State Constitution :

The people have the right to the privilege of education, and it is the duty of the State to guard and maintain that right.

In one of his speeches Aycock said in a characteristic passage: " I have carefully examined the public documents from Governor Vance down to the present time and I find that I have enunciated no new thought and have declared no new principle in advocating universal education. *My vanity has been lessened by my study of what has been said in the past, but my devo-*

tion to the cause of universal education has been increased, and I trust that I am among those who are willing to sacrifice vanity to the good of the people."

We note with extreme gratification that Governor Aycock's successors in office have shown themselves not unmindful of the privilege and the duty of the high position which he occupied, and that they have used every endeavor to further the worthy ends of educational reform. A statement from Governor Glenn, who was Aycock's successor, deserves a place in this essay :

Illiteracy, the twin sister to vice, is one of the greatest curses, and in itself is often the source of evil, while education is power, and shows itself in developing our industries as well as expanding our minds and elevating our morals.

From North Carolina have gone men and influences that have lighted the path of educational progress in other States of the South, and that also have been an inspiration to North, East, and West. The genial optimism and the likable personal qualities of Charles D. McIver are as a benediction to the generation from which he has so lately been taken, and though his voice is stilled amongst us, he yet speaketh. Edward Alderman, in rare measure, combines solid executive capacity and commanding power as an orator. As president of the leading institutions in three states he has in a peculiar way upheld high ideals of manhood and citizenship, and best of all he has been sending

out into the States trained leaders. Like Aycock, Alderman has rare gifts of speech, and these men rank among the most conspicuous examples in our generation of men with a capacity to state their case. Among the North Carolinians who have gone to teach the lessons of her progress in broader fields is Walter H. Page, whose democracy of education is contained in the brief statement: "It is a shining day in any educated man's growth when he comes to see and to feel and to know and admit freely that it is just as important to the world that the ragamuffin child of his worthless neighbor should be trained as it is that his own child should be. Until a man sees this he cannot be a worthy democrat, nor get a patriotic conception of education." Not less important than the accomplishment of the foregoing is the solid constructive work of James Y. Joyner, since 1902 Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina. Others may have planted, but Joyner has tilled and harvested, and the new educational crop of North Carolina is a noble tribute to his insight, patience, and devoted labor. The National Educational Association did well to vote him its President in 1909.

This movement in North Carolina seems typical of a new constructive statesmanship in the South. Just at the close of the Civil War Robert E. Lee wrote to one who complained of the hard fate in store for those whom he termed "us poor Virginians": "You can work for Virginia, to build her up again, to make her great again. You can teach your children to love and

cherish her." The great Captain of the Confederacy waived outside business opportunity and political office, and gave his last years to what he regarded as the sacred cause of training the youth in order that there might be a greater state in the future. Students of conditions in the Southland assure us that there is the growth of a sober, balanced judgment, especially with regard to the events of the past, in dealing with the race question, and in planning for the future of the region. Through education the South is entering into the heritage of a sounder moral life, a more secure political organization, a more highly efficient economic system. All honor to the men who have worked and who are working to these worthy ends!

II.

EDUCATION THE KEYSTONE OF POWER.

IN the dark days that followed 1789 in France there went through the streets of Paris a band of children bearing the banner of revolution with the motto, "Tremble, tyrants, for we are growing up!" So, up and down the streets of our cities, and in and out of the lanes and byways throughout the land an army of children says, in effect, to the responsible men of the generation, "Tremble, masters, for we are growing up!" That the weal of the nation is linked with the training of the youth is a truism so often repeated as to seem like a platitude. Yet at times its force is revealed anew in the realm of morals or of pure intellect, or in the field of political or economic activity.

On every side there is agreement that under modern conditions, the geographical position and natural resources of countries as well as the native aptitude of people count for relatively less and less, and that it is supremely important for a nation to develop the power to utilize its resources and secure from the outside the things in which it is deficient. A desire to know how Americans can pay a dollar a day in wages where Englishmen pay but a shilling, while the American surpasses his English competitor in the open market,

has sent to this country two commissions of English experts; and more recently Mr. Alfred Mosely, who brought these commissions, was of the opinion that an answer to his inquiry could be found only by sending a large number of British teachers to study the American nation at school.

"Whatever you would have appear in a nation's life, that you must put into its schools," is finding general acceptance; but this doctrine raises all sorts of questions. The most perplexing of these questions are, What should we have in a nation's life? and, when this is determined, How shall it be put into the schools? Schools both reflect existing national ideals and create new ideals. Thus a nation, through its schools, tends to perpetuate itself, and thus a system of education is born of the genius of a people. This is necessarily of slow growth, and deeply rooted in national traditions. There is no "brand" of education that can be shipped from country to country, and applied to different peoples under diverse conditions.

But more than this, no single form of education is adequate for the complex life of one nation. And again a system of education, however elaborate, devised for one period, is not applicable to the people for whom it was devised in successive periods. Thus it is in the words of Milton, that "education is the noblest design that can be thought on," and "for the want whereof a nation perishes."

Improved means of communication, the competition incident to the opening-up of new regions, the removal

of national barriers, numerous international expositions where the results of education have been presented, these are some of the recent events which give special point to a consideration of what is the real basis of power in a modern nation.

EDUCATION AMERICA'S DOMINANT INTEREST.

In 1820, Daniel Webster proclaimed that every man should be taxed for the support of schools as a police protection, and this whether he had any children to be educated or not. From this time, interest in education has grown in the United States until it is the chief concern of our public administration and social effort. We agree with the statement made by an American man of letters, that the United States is the most common-schooled nation in the world. Yet, the common-schools, so-called, by no means circumscribe our educational activities. Schools to train for efficient life are found to be cheaper than almshouses, asylums, and prisons to care for the incompetent, the unfortunate, and the vicious. On every hand is coming to be accepted the sentiment which is writ large over a great institution in the American state which perhaps has done most for education, "The Commonwealth Requires the Education of the People as the Safeguard of Order and Liberty."

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN ENGLAND.

Of late, education has been a foremost public ques-

tion in England. The Government repeatedly made a school bill its principal measure, over which the public has been almost as deeply stirred as over Irish Affairs, the South African War, the Fiscal Policy, or any other measure of a decade. Back of the agitation that has accompanied the debates on the English school bills is the feeling that education is somehow unsatisfactory. Just why and how schools are bad, and what should be done to improve them, are matters of disagreement, but the English public knows that education is in need of revision.

It is more than a decade since that superb educational leader, Michael E. Sadler, began his work as Director of Special Inquiries and Reports on Educational Subjects. Report followed report, comparing English education with that in foreign countries and pointing out deficiencies in English schools. In addition to these reports, numerous commissions have visited the United States and the Continent, and have reported that England makes inadequate educational provision. By degrees, and in various ways, the idea of reforming education has made its way, and this idea has now expressed itself in a public question of first importance.

In brief, the opinion has grown that the creation of a system of caste is now the greatest defect of English education. For the aristocracy by birth, the schools are good, and these have trained the leaders; but these schools are not accessible to all, and the other schools are bad. Some of the private schools in England are

of the best in the world, but they are classical in spirit and emphasis, and are only for the sons of persons of means. These schools, with the universities, train men for the church, the army and the navy, the literary and liberal professions, and public life. Between those trained in these schools, and those not so trained, there is a social barrier. It was a class spirit, born of education, that prompted the Englishman's prayer that men should be content with the station in which Providence has placed them.

Englishmen realize that the church and the classics have shackled education, and that there is in their country a woeful lack of schools that give an equality of educational opportunity in preparation for life. The nation is found weak in provisions for study of the mother tongue, science, and the modern languages. Honors in the private schools and the universities are given largely for classics and mathematics, but what we know as modern secondary schools, with up-to-date curricula and accessible to the sons of the people, have been almost unknown in England. Cecil Rhodes expressed the conservative sentiment of Englishmen when he said, "If Englishmen would stop learning foreign languages, foreigners would be compelled to learn English." But it should be noted, England's needs for foreign languages have grown constantly.

The recent educational bills provided, among other things, for better administration and increased support of schools, for the taking of private schools under public control; and there seems to be a tendency to withdraw

public money from church schools. Americans will readily discern in these bills the features of their state educational systems. Germany, France, and the United States have long recognized the dominance of the state in education, but England makes only partial and tardy recognition of the same principle.

The educational bill of 1908 was the fourth on this subject of the Government which introduced it. The thought that religious differences at last had been compromised gave much elation when the bill was made public, but it soon appeared that extreme Anglicans and Nonconformists alike were dissatisfied, while Romanists, and those without religious affiliations, objected because they had not been considered in the compromise. The opposition gathered so quickly and with such force that the Government withdrew the bill, and the reflection remains, whether the religious differences of England can ever be so harmonized as to make religion an acceptable subject of instruction in the government schools. An American naturally asks why England does not extend and perfect her state education on a purely secular and ethical basis and leave religious education to the church and the home.

English private schools for boys may well excite admiration. At their best, and for those who are so favored as to attend them, they are, of their class, probably, the finest schools in the world. These schools have had no slight part in forming the resourceful, dogged Englishman, who for two genera-

tions has made his power felt. The modern era of these schools began when Thomas Arnold went to Rugby. Arnold showed himself not only the greatest schoolmaster of modern times, but, through the schools, he has exercised a lasting influence on the British nation.

The English schoolboy's normal life is to attend a primary school or to remain in the hands of a governess or tutor until he is ten, when he is placed at a boarding school called a preparatory school. Here he remains until he is fourteen, at which age he is transferred to the so-called public school.

"Public school" is one of the forms of private schools in England. The usual period at the public school is from fourteen to eighteen years, and at eighteen the youth enters his chosen university. "Tom Brown's School Days," "Stalky & Co.," and biographies of great Englishmen have made the names of Rugby, Eton, Harrow, Winchester, St. Paul's, and others familiar. We know these schools for their work, we know them for their play, the "pastoral influence" of the masters, the friendships formed, the lasting impress for noble living, and knowing these things we say, it is well to have been an English schoolboy.

A tradition of the English schools for boys makes the higher forms or classes responsible for the discipline and the general tone of the institutions. Membership in the upper classes brings both duties and privileges. These schools thus train for leadership

and give a sturdy self-reliance which has proved of large service to the nation.

The English preparatory school is objected to, first, because it takes boys from home and places them in an institution at too early an age. Lads here are filled with Latin to the neglect of subjects which would interest them in the world in which they live. The character of the public school is largely determined by the institutions which are above and below it. The English universities have failed of their largest usefulness through an over-emphasis of the conventional classics and mathematics, but, of late, tendencies are toward practical studies even in such ancient seats of learning as Oxford and Cambridge.

In industry, England was long content to depend upon her leaders and the machines which they invented. As compared with Germany, she has given slight heed to the "human machine." The First Royal Commission on Technical Education pointed to the fact that by the neglect of suitable training for her population, England was at a distinct disadvantage, for other nations with superior men could buy the English machines and easily outstrip her. This Commission strongly urged what the thoughtful Englishmen have been urging for almost a generation—a larger attention to science and art and the application of these to practical affairs. In 1902, great progress was made in the passing of a new Technical Education Act which eliminated local divisions and conflicting control and unified the system of education for industry.

The greatest weakness of English education, and a cause for present concern, is the abandonment of those who cannot attend pay schools as educational outcasts. English free schools are conspicuously inferior to pay schools. Attention to education has been forced upon England by practical necessity. Over-sea interests of the nation, "her varying life and changing purpose," what has been termed England's "two-mindedness," her necessity for economic efficiency and commercial enterprise, as well as for military strength, literary achievement and missionary zeal—these have shown that England cannot maintain her proud place by educating only her leaders. The "Made in Germany" cry of the late nineties, and the "American Peril" agitation of more recent years, have helped to awaken the nation to the truth of Mr. Alfred Mosely's conclusion that in addition to what is now being done to educate the favored few, more education and more practical education is necessary for the masses. Recent educational movements have sought to supplement, not supplant, the schools that have done so much for England.

MODERN GERMAN EDUCATION.

The defeat at Jena, early in the nineteenth century, marked the turning-point in German educational history. Territory and prestige were gone; power and glory were no more. But the Emperor sounded the call for a new Germany. "We must regain at home," he said, "what we have lost abroad," and his method

for regaining what had been lost was through education. The Emperor proclaimed that he desired nothing so much as the instruction of his people. In 1866 Matthew Arnold declared that German education could not fail to arouse the foreigner's admiration, yet educational progress has been more rapid in the last forty years than it was in the previous sixty. The present Emperor has done much to make more effective the policy begun by Frederick William III. In a hundred years education has rehabilitated the German Empire.

A German boy at six enters a public elementary school where he remains for three or four years, or he may enter a private school, or a preparatory department of some higher school. At nine or ten the lad may continue in a town school for four years additional, or he may go to a so-called high school for a six or a nine-year course, or he may go to a private school of a grade corresponding to some one of the schools here mentioned. Where he will go depends upon the means of his parents and their ambition for their boy. The town school is free and is a direct continuation of the public elementary school.

The minimum of educational requirement in Germany is a completion of the course at the town school, and in many districts additional attendance upon what are termed continuation schools. These latter are designed to continue the education of those who are compelled to go to work at about fourteen, and instruction in them is given in the early morning, in the

late afternoon, or in the evening. The compulsory attendance feature of continuation schools varies; in Saxony attendance is required for three years, in Prussia until the youth is eighteen.

Boarding schools for boys are not common in Germany. Nor is any form of private school independent there. All teachers must be licensed by the Government, and those in private schools, as well as in public, are required to be specially trained. The Government school inspectors visit private schools and exercise rigorous supervision over them. In considering schools in Germany one finds the reverse of the conditions in England; private schools in Germany are inferior to public schools, and are not in high favor. In the city of Munich, for example, there are but three hundred children in attendance in private schools and seventy thousand in the public schools. In that city attendance upon private schools is allowed only on certificate issued by the city superintendent of schools. Such certificates, the superintendent reports, are issued only to delicate and nervous children.

The institutions of chief interest in Germany are the public high schools. In part these are state-supported schools, and in part they are supported by the communities in which they are located; in case of local establishment, these schools are aided by state subventions. These public schools are not entirely free, those who attend being required to pay a fee usually of about twenty dollars a year. The Government appropriates for each student an amount somewhat larger than the amount he is required to pay.

Of the higher schools there are three sorts: the severely classical, with a strong emphasis on Latin and Greek; the modern, with Latin and one modern language, and with an emphasis on mathematics and science; and the modern without Latin, with a strong emphasis on modern languages and literature and science. For each of these types of school there is an official six-year and a nine-year plan of studies, so arranged that a student can continue for the last three years after the completion of the first six. The classical school for nine years, called the *gymnasium*, and the modern school for six years, called the *realschule*, are the extremes of the German higher education.

In 1900, the Emperor issued a rescript on education which was, in brief, a protest against the dominance of the *gymnasia*. He declared that the ideal for German education should not be to make good Greeks or good Romans, but to make good Germans. Education, he asserted, should not train men to see the world through a pair of spectacles, but through their own eyes. German schools were charged with failing to develop the power to deal with practical affairs, and it was directed that more attention be given to such subjects as the mother tongue, modern languages, science and geography. To give effect to his proclamation, the Emperor ordered that the exclusive privileges hitherto enjoyed by the classical *gymnasia* should be abolished, and that the certificates of other schools of equal grade be admitted to like privileges with the certificates of the *gymnasia*.

The most interesting recent development in German education is the rise and influence of the *realschulen*. These grew out of the trade schools; they were first recognized by the Prussian Government in 1882, and in 1892 they were given their present names. Additional favors have been extended to the graduates of these schools until the privileges from them are practically the same as the privileges from the *gymnasia*. The *realschulen* idea is in such high favor that a recent observer terms it, "the darling of the Prussian educational department."

The favors extended to graduates of the *realschulen*, such as exemption from two years of compulsory military service, the opening of numerous civil service positions, admission to the universities and other higher institutions, etc., have drawn pupils to them until at present they have nearly, or quite, forty thousand in attendance; over one hundred thousand are in the *gymnasia* and about eighty thousand are in the schools that have Latin but not Greek. One direct result of the existence of these various forms of higher schools with equal privileges is the carrying of a relatively large number through the higher schools, and sending them on to the universities and higher technical institutions.

A recent educational development of interest in Germany is the reform in the higher schools for girls. Beginning with 1908, women were admitted into the German universities on substantially the same terms as men, and this immediately presented a new educa-

tional problem for the girls' schools. In consequence of the new policy, girls' higher schools are now being extended and modified. One party seeks to make the girls' schools as nearly as possible like the boys' schools. Another—and it would seem a wiser group—would make the girls' schools distinctive and have their curricula and methods determined by the special needs of women. A somewhat bitter controversy has gone on as to how the girls' schools shall be shaped. It is obvious that no matter which of the opposing factions shall prevail, education for women in Germany will be the gainer. The reform which is just begun bids fair ultimately to change the social and economic position of the German woman. The second year following the new regulation saw a marked increase in the number of women students attending German universities.

It will be noticed that the German child who is to study a foreign language begins at nine or ten, while an American child would likely not begin until four or five years later. The cumulative effect of nine years of language study in the same school, and directed to the same end, produces in the German an intellectual power and an efficiency in handling the language not realized in American schools. No doubt this statement might be applied with equal truth to other subjects of study.

One must visit classes in German schools to appreciate how admirable are their methods of language teaching, and how notable are their results. The foreigner is most impressed with the so-called natural

method of studying languages. Probably the best exponent of this method is Dr. Max Walter, the Director of the *Musterschule* in Frankfort-on-Main. Dr. Walter has been proceeding on the theory that a modern language should be studied before Latin because it is easier, and that it is the natural order to proceed from the less difficult to the more difficult. He also holds to use of the language being studied from the start, and seeks to reach the grammar through the language rather than the use of the language through the grammar. It was the writer's privilege to spend some days with Dr. Walter and to observe his method with beginning and advanced classes in French and English. In brief, it can be said that all the pupils learn to read and speak the language studied, and many of them do so with remarkable accuracy and confidence. The further observation was made that all the pupils enjoyed the language study and entered with spirit into the class exercise. Similar results were found elsewhere, and in the mastery of a language one may well say that the German schools furnish the keynote of power.

German technical education is extensive and admirable. First are the continuation schools mentioned above, supported in part by grants of public funds and in part by fees from the employers of those to be educated. One division of the continuation school is general, for the direct following-up of the instruction in the town schools, but the special forms of these schools are the most important. Continuation schools are of

two sorts: voluntary, for those who have passed the required age, and compulsory, for those who have not yet reached it.

Instruction is given in the continuation and trade schools covering the principal trades and occupations. Foresters, carpenters, cabinet-makers, printers, brewers, weavers, clerks, policemen, and many other workmen are trained in these schools. A detailed examination of the continuation schools in the city of Munich shows that more than forty branches of trade instruction are provided in that city alone.

Parallel with the continuation schools are the middle technical day schools for those who can give their full time to school work. These take boys averaging about fourteen and keep them for three years. Courses in these schools are almost as diverse as are those in the continuation schools. Often the same building and equipment are used for both these classes of schools, their hours not conflicting.

Above the middle technical schools are numerous great technical high schools, and a large number of separate higher schools for special trades and industries, such as mining, agriculture, forestry, veterinary medicine, art, commerce, army and navy, and colonial administration. Each of these trades or callings is represented by a separate institution; and instruction preparatory to the callings just named, as well as to various branches of engineering and technology, is offered also in each of the technical high schools.

German education in its entirety is a magnificent

system, and it is bearing its fruits. In brief, it is organized to furnish both general training and an equipment for the particular thing which is to be done. One who had recently traveled extensively in Germany and in our own country said that if fifty million Americans were placed within the borders of the German Empire they would die of starvation; yet, he said, fifty million Germans were there, a thrifty and contented people. German emigration has diminished; Germans are trained to work at home and send their goods abroad, and Germany has become a potent factor in modern industrial and commercial affairs; but education is the chief corner-stone in Germany's present prosperity.

According to Coleridge, the ideal of German education is the training of intelligent, obedient, "organizable," and useful subjects. German schoolmasters have aimed to cultivate a true love of learning, and also to make learning serve useful ends, and they have had marked success. Without doubt Germany has developed the highest average intellectual capacity of any nation in modern times. She has also given to her people, as a whole, a greater skill for work than has been given to the people of any other country.

But to an American, German education seems to convert a virtue into a vice; her elaborate system lacks the spontaneity which we regard as a first requisite. German subjects are "organizable," but there is in the Empire an obvious tendency toward militarism, officialism, and socialism. Germans are methodical

and deliberate, but as a nation they seem wanting in the initiative and alertness which will, we believe, in the long run, overcome the greatest obstacles and achieve the largest success.

THE FRENCH SYSTEM.

In seeking to perpetuate national traditions, French schools long made tradition into a fetish. The honorable thing in France has been the Government service, and education aimed at producing good officials. As a result, the utilitarian in education is despised as tending to the vulgar, and a social distinction is fixed by the school one attends. There has long been in France a type of man best described by the word *functionary*, and though education is changing the type somewhat, this man is still common. He is wanting in personal aims and ambition; he lives to take orders.

In the organization of an international jury of awards at a recent world's fair, one of these French public officials was appointed vice-chairman. It later developed that this vice-chairmanship had been promised to the representative of another nation, and soon an international complication arose. The Frenchman resigned, as his commissioner-general directed him to do, and forthwith a German, who felt that his nation had not been fairly dealt with, demanded the place; but the Frenchman reclaimed his position, and when asked to explain his action he made a statement that revealed a system of education and the character of a people. He said: "I am not vice-chairman; I am

vice-chairman; I resign; I do not resign; I am a victim on the altar of diplomacy." The German, in a towering rage, protested against this proceeding, demanding action, and waving the rules before the jury, he fairly shouted, "It is the law!" As one watched these men, the representatives of education for their respective countries, he felt that in a way they typified their nations—one vacillating and dallying, the other blunt and honest, even to brutality.

French training for clearness and accuracy of expression is unsurpassed. Many French philosophical and scientific works are marvels of lucidity, and they have at the same time an accuracy that makes them the more remarkable. Prof. Barrett Wendell remarks that French scholars are not "swamped" by their facts, and points out that with their scientific correctness they retain "the dynamic quality of mental habit." We may well share Professor Wendell's feeling that it would be a gain to American scholarship if more American students who study abroad would attend the French universities.

Late French elections indicate that schools are wielding an increasing influence in that country. Despite ecclesiastical complications and army scandals, the Government has been supported, and France is found to have more stability than she once possessed. M. Jaurès offers an explanation of a late vote: "It is the grammar school and the high school teachers," he says, "that have spoken to France through their pupils during the last quarter of a century, and henceforth a

new political fortune awaits the country. For twenty-five years the schools have been fashioning real republicans. The young man of thirty spoke with such firm accents that he became at once the master of France."

THE SCHOOLS AT PLAY.

When the Invincible Armada sailed into the Channel in 1588 the English commanders were engaged in a game of competitive sport which they felt they must finish before going forth to do battle for the nation. And these English proved the better fighters because of the qualities which the games developed. After Waterloo, Wellington remarked that the English cricket-field had won. It was the waiting power of the Englishman, his sinking of self and action with his fellows that had triumphed, and these are qualities developed by the English school games. French education may have something to teach Americans, German education surely has much, but in organizing school games and getting the value from these, America can give useful lessons to both France and Germany.

School games have developed into an institution for education in England and in the United States, and though sometimes abused, they are an important feature of school life. By competitive sport boys learn manliness and self-control; in team-play selfishness is overcome; boys forget self and play that their team may win. So important do games and other outside interests become in some English and American schools

that lessons are in danger of becoming a side issue, and yet we dare to believe that many of these are admirable schools. The "play fair" and "don't cry" spirit which games can, and do, develop may become of first importance as a means of education.

The school sports have made it possible for school-masters to come close to those in their charge. In the old-time boarding-school the masters were regarded as the boys' natural enemies—the men who went stealthily about in soft-soled shoes to surprise boys and spy out their doings. In place of these have come, as masters, athletic college men who, as a friend of the boys, mix freely with them in their games, and meet them in dormitory and classroom as man to man. These men have not gone down to the level of the boys; they have brought the boys to a higher level; their example is a most positive force for education.

The capacity to play hard and thus to find relaxation is necessary to the nation that is to work hard. Demolins, in his "Anglo-Saxon Superiority," asserts that there is nothing comparable to an Englishman's working power, unless it is his resting power. Both Americans and Englishmen learn to play while at their schools, and this is a lesson not so well learned in Germany and France. An Englishman recently went to a German football game, and though the game was played near two large cities, and under conditions that would quite likely have brought out from fifteen to twenty thousand spectators in the United States, there were in Germany but sixty-five present. In this

country the spectators would have been wildly excited, and the players self-contained, but in Germany the spectators had only a passing interest, and the players gave evidence of great excitement, constantly gesticulating and calling to their team-mates.

The evil of competitive school sport in this country grows out of a desire to win at any price, and against this both school authorities and the public should resolutely set themselves. Not fewer, but more, school games; not every effort bent to the perfection of a few picked players and making heroes of these, but the participation of a large number in the games; not anything to win, but honor first and always—these are some of the fundamentals by which school sports should be governed that they may be more useful as factors in education.

EDUCATIONAL AIMS.

Education can have no higher aim than character-forming, and character must be expressed in action. Thus education is more than "teaching people to know what they do not know;" it is leading them to do as they would not otherwise do. An educated man is one "trained to coöperate in the purposes of human progress." What one *is*, is more important than what he knows, for what he is determines how he will act. The best education for an individual and a nation is that which is translated into worthy, useful living.

An Englishman says that the German test for an individual's education is what he knows; the French

test is what examination he has passed; the English, what sort of a fellow he is; and the American, what can he do? Americans may be well content to retain and perfect their own standard. Knowledge, skill and character should be put to the test of doing.

The best American schools have followed the best English schools in giving much attention to the rest, food, games, etc., of their pupils. The masters in these schools regard the work in the classroom as perhaps the least important of their duties. The school life is a world-in-little; pupils who aid in the management of the school thus learn the first lessons of leadership. By this kind of education there has been produced the political leader in England and the type of man recently coming to the fore in our own public life. The aim of these schools is the all-around development of the individual, and their product is to be desired rather than the German mechanical type or the French functionary.

But the weakness of English and American education is the tendency to rejoice over one "lad of pairs" and to neglect the larger body of those to be educated. "Think of the multitudes that have been lost," was a stock saying of Colonel Parker, one of the great educational reformers of his generation. After the extension of suffrage in England a far-seeing statesman exclaimed, "Now we must educate our masters." Woe betide the future if the people as masters are not given the desire and the capacity to do right things. Education must, of necessity, be diverse and have

diverse aims, for it is teaching to live, and in these times life is complex and many-sided; but all schools should have in common the aim of teaching men to live worthily.

The highest ideal for American schools was expressed by one of the finest products of these schools in our time. In his address to sixteen hundred boys at the dedication of the new Central High School building in Philadelphia, President Roosevelt exhorted his hearers to work hard and play hard. His sentiment of that day has passed into a proverb, and it may well become a watchword of our education, "Don't flinch, don't foul, and hit the line hard."

Of late we have heard of a fourteenth-century society devoted to education, known as "Brethren of the Common Life." At first this brotherhood concerned itself only with religious education, but it widened its purpose until it became a part of the general educational movement which resulted in the Renaissance and the rise of universities. The name of this organization well expresses the purposes of modern education, which are, in brief, to train men to discharge their obligations to, and participate in, a life common with their fellows. Thus, education comes to be more complex with a steady growth of the complexities in the social order. Thus, also are we forced to the conclusion that there is no "absolute code" in education, for any subject, for all time, or for all peoples. No longer is the doctrine popular that it is necessary to train only the leaders. John Morley

urges a significant truth when he says that the chances for the exceptional genius are highest in a society where "the average interest, curiosity and capacity are all the highest." The aims of our education should be not to train for a political democracy alone, as has been so largely true in England, but to equip for a social democracy as well:

The public schools best express the genius of American democracy. To the question, What is the chief industry of the United States? an American foreign minister replied, Education. Our intense interest in schools is evidenced first in the liberal support extended to them, but the interest does not end here. Edward Everett termed the common schools of his time "invaluable for their commonness." The common schools are the schools of the common life and purpose of the nation. European countries with small territorial extent, a tolerably fixed population, and well-defined social classes, scarcely realize the difficulties presented to America with her extensive and widely dissimilar territory, and her mixed population drawn from all the principal countries of the world. A foreign observer notes that our population is as dissimilar as are the physical areas of the country. The only possibility of our becoming and remaining a nation is that the schools shall serve as a "crucible" in which these mixed social classes may be fused. The American high school is a striking illustration of the equality of educational opportunity and of the leveling effects of education. This school stands as the

“ open door ” to the professions, to increased intellectual power and to higher industrial and commercial efficiency ; and it is the school of the people, free and on the same terms to rich and poor, to those whose lineage is drawn from generations of Americans and to the recently-arrived immigrant. Here is given the preparation for a common purpose and a higher life.

During the last twenty-five years there are unmistakable evidences of the coming together of the academic and the practical in all grades of schools. This, as we might wish, is to the gain of both elements. Much of the lament is heard for the old-fashioned common school with its three R's ; but the music, drawing, manual training and cooking introduced into the elementary schools have not stood in the way of results as satisfactory as ever were secured in the old academic branches. Recently there was found a set of examination questions and the answers given to them in Springfield, Mass., in 1846, and these same questions were set for the pupils of a corresponding grade in a modern school. The results show that pupils now spell and figure as well as did those fifty years ago, and that present-day children do not fall below their predecessors in knowledge of geography. But what this test did not show is that pupils now know vastly more things than did their predecessors.

The various types of the vocational high school have not disregarded academic interests. They have taken these interests and given them direct application. Manual training, commercial and technical high

schools are only giving new force and vigor to old knowledge. Similarly the higher technical schools are based on the science and the mathematics of the so-called academic education. Nor is this all. With the best representatives of the technical and vocational education there is a firm conviction that the literary, and what have long been termed cultural, elements in training are a requisite if the man of affairs is to have his largest successes.

An unmistakable tendency of schools everywhere is to equip men for their vocations. President Roosevelt said to a company of educators in 1908 that they were to train towards the farm and workshop and not away from them, and this indicates the trend. In Germany education for vocations has been longer established and it has had a fuller development than in other countries, and it has as a consequence shown more marked results than elsewhere. In addition to the various government activities for technical education in Germany, numerous guilds, chambers of commerce and the like, contribute to the same end. This indicates a much more prevalent sentiment for this kind of education than exists in other lands. As a result of this instruction, and under present conditions, Germany occupies practically an unassailable position among the industrial nations of the world.

But there is much to give satisfaction in our own educational outlook. Our system is not so cut and dried as are the systems of foreign countries, and it does not produce the same rigidity and formalism. It

leaves much more to the individual than does the training of any other nation. Eliot, Harris, Butler, and other interpreters of our educational progress dwell on *spontaneity as a keynote*. This has resulted in part from Anglo-Saxon characteristics. No doubt it has also been affected by the enormous material riches of our continent.

But we should bear in mind that these riches are not inexhaustible and that our methods have resulted in much waste and extravagance, as well as some inefficiency and self-complacency. As our population increases and becomes more congested, our schools grow larger and grave dangers arise from platooning the pupils, and the loss of that individual power which was once the strength of our education. This necessitates more careful formal training than we have given heretofore.

American schools are not without serious faults. Their product seems more impelled to act than to think, or to act first and think afterwards. It is too largely an American ideal that every man is to gain distinction by beating the record of his predecessor, and then continuing to beat his own record.

So far as our schools have set themselves a definite purpose, it is to train for political rather than economic life. This is well exemplified in the almost constant appeal for the scholar in politics, education in democracy, etc. Horace Mann declared the ideal in a statement: "No man is worthy the honored name of statesman who does not include the highest practicable education of the people in all his plans of administration."

Only of late are we coming to an acceptance of the truth that industrial and commercial competition are to be the warfare of the future. But there is a larger truth than this expressed by Commissioner Draper when he says: "Let us make our industries contribute not only to our wealth and to our strength, but to our manhood as well."

As compared with Europe, the United States is most fortunate in being freed from large expense for a military system, and in having the money thus saved to use for education. A continental journal states that France spends five times as much for her army as for her schools, Germany three times as much, Austria four times as much, and Italy twice as much. Switzerland is said to be the only European country spending more for schools than for her military system.

Americans should realize their advantages. We have unexampled opportunities from our isolation, from our cheap and abundant raw material, from our freedom from the precedent of conventional restraint. Mr. Omer Buysé of Charleroi, Belgium, after a detailed study of American educational methods, writes as follows: "I am of the opinion that you possess strongly characterized Systems of Education, the outcome of your national spirit. And from your ways, we Europeans have much to learn. I even express the hope that you should continue in the same progressive way and avoid, as much as possible, European influence, which would disturb the admirable concordance between your systems and your national spirit."

We should be more ready than are foreign investigators to acknowledge that we have much to learn from foreign systems, and holding fast to what is best in our own education, adapt the established and useful practices of other peoples, and make our schools more and more the keystone of our moral, our political, and our economic power.

III.

OLD AND NEW EDUCATION.

NOT infrequently the question arises, What is the so-called new education, and how does it differ from the education long-established? Education for its own sake, *cultural education*—a name given to the old training—is commonly arrayed as necessarily hostile to *applied education* for agriculture, industry and commerce. Indeed, we have separate schools for each: for the old,—classical high schools, classical colleges, *gymnasia*, *lycée*, etc.; for the new,—commercial schools, manual training schools, technical schools, scientific schools, trade schools, *realschulen*, *colleges communales*, etc.

The Hebrew “speaker in assemblies” declared that there is no new thing under the sun, and affirmed of a thing thought to be new that it hath been long ago in the ages which were before. At times we talk of new schools of art and literature and new systems of education as though they were real things, and yet when we begin to examine the old, and note a comparison, we find that the supposed new is surprisingly like that which has preceded, and that in all branches of modern life we are only living up to the accomplishments and the promises of the long ago.

But more than this, the development of a later age is often necessary that we may understand the full meaning of what was earlier said and done. Of genius, it may be affirmed that it expresses eternal truth, but in a language often unintelligible to its own time. It is only the unfolding of life in a later age which gives the experience from which can be understood the larger meaning of a great truth. Poets were long ago reputed to express wise things which they did not themselves understand. The supreme achievement of literature is the universalizing of an era—the projection of an age, and the binding of it both to the past and the future. Thus it is that truly great writings are always modern—thus life is enlarging and each epoch furnishes that which enables us better to understand the universal truth of earlier times.

The modern loose-leaf ledger, and card-index ledger systems are but an adaptation of the clay-tablet method of keeping accounts practised in Babylonia more than four thousand years ago, and the Babylonian tablets were superior to the modern devices in that they did not require fire-proof safes. Seals, witnesses, "consideration," security, and many other phases of modern contract proceedings are all found in the early dawn of history. As one looks further he finds that many so-called modern business customs find their precursors and their suggestion in practices of the hoary past.

The industries of antiquity challenge admiration for artistic conception, and skill in execution. Weaving,

dyeing, carving, and metal work were in ancient times so marvelously developed as to give suitability to the term "the lost arts."

If for a moment we turn our thoughts to the economic organization of modern society there is little to excite our admiration by way of newness. As economists we talk of trusts as an essentially modern phenomenon, and assert that they are the consequence of new methods in the production and exchange of goods, but on examination we find that the monopoly privilege has been bestowed upon their favorites by rulers from time immemorial, and that those who operated these monopolies were actuated by the same motives that lie back of the modern trust. The Tudors in England gave privileges until necessities as well as luxuries were in the grasp of those moved by their own greed rather than the general good. Iron, oil, vinegar, coal, leather, yarn, glass, and many other articles were included. No sovereign bestowed monopolist privileges more freely than did Elizabeth, and no event of her marvelous reign is more striking or fraught with larger meaning than was her tardy withdrawal of these privileges on petition from the Commons.

Legislation for the regulation of monopolies was enacted in the time of the First James, but the abuses did not disappear. The whole question was later discussed by Sir John Culpepper in a speech before the Long Parliament. He gave an extended list of these privileges and particularized as to their influence, speaking in general terms that present anti-trust agi-

tators might find suited to express their sentiments: "They are a nest of wasps . . . a swarm of vermin that have crept over the land; . . . they sup in our cup, dip in our dish, sit by our fire." "These," he said, "are the leeches that have sucked the Commonwealth so hard that it is almost hectic." A case still cited as precedent was brought in the English courts; it was to dissolve a monopoly for the sale of playing-cards, and as reported by Coke is termed "the Case of Monopolies." Late decisions to dissolve mergers and the like are in accord with the reasons given in the report of Coke: a monopoly in restraint is against both the common law and numerous legislative acts.

But provisions for the control of monopolies are older than the rise of the English law. The economic conditions from which monopolies grew were in the ancient world and monopolies have existed from the earliest historic times. Zeno, the Prefect of Constantinople, found conditions not unlike those of our own day, and in 483 A. D. issued an edict that if carried out would likely have made him the greatest force for the control of monopolies of which we have any knowledge. In an age of attempted monopoly control, the message from Zeno cannot fail to interest:

We command that no one may presume to exercise a monopoly of any kind of clothing, or of fish, or any other thing serving for food, or for any other use, whatever its nature may be: that different kinds of merchandise may not be sold at a less price than they have agreed upon among them-

selves. Workmen and contractors for buildings, and all who practice other professions, and contractors for baths, are entirely prohibited from agreeing together that no one may complete a work contracted for by another, or that a person may prevent one who has contracted for a work from finishing it; . . . and if any one shall presume to practice a monopoly, let his property be forfeited and himself be condemned to perpetual exile.

Nor do the statements above made detract from the interest or the importance of the present. Truly great work in literature, music, and architecture has been characterized by a singular lack of originality. The preëminent literary genius of the English race was so wanting in this particular that his authorship has been called into question. Both language and subject-matter of his plays follow other writings which had preceded. In addition to the use of the chronicles of Holinshed and Hall, and the North Plutarch which had just appeared, Shakespeare drew largely from legends and traditions current at the time he wrote, and even from the dramas of his contemporaries. This genius did not "invent" situations as he did not create language. Nor was this adopting peculiar to Shakespeare. A modern scholar has found the single Eastern tradition of the Merchant of Tyre which was used by Shakespeare in at least a dozen languages and literatures, and in all of them it exists with but slight variations.¹

¹ Smyth, *Appolonius of Tyre*, Publications of American Philosophical Society.

In music the facts are not less striking. Wagner did not, as is often thought, create his art out of his own personality; he but put the stamp of his genius upon much that preceded him, and his service to the world was in his ability to unify, coördinate, and re-express the work of others.

In the presence of great architectural triumphs we can well understand the dependence of modern architecture upon the work of other ages and other peoples. We have sometimes felt that architects are too slavishly following the tastes and styles of earlier times. Greek, Italian, Renaissance, Gothic, Spanish and Colonial are terms and styles known even to the uninitiated. Modern buildings are largely cast in the moulds of the builders of the long ago.

Modern life explains ancient life, and is in reality an advance upon the ancient. This inter-relation and inter-dependence of past and present may thus become a unifying principle in the study of history, for example, and when it is adopted, history is a subject of first importance. The practical value of this subject has been questioned, but correct notions of what history is will promptly remove all question. The past calls forward to the present and the present calls back to the past in so many ways that history is found to be one; and thus it is organically related in all of its parts. Many of the so-called problems of the present have been met in the past, and important contributions made towards their solution.

Modern developments make us better able to under-

stand the life of the past. The commercial era in which we are living has contributed the data to make antiquity real, both in range of experience and interest. The writer found a new flood of light thrown on Greek tradition and history when he came to a study of the industry and commerce of Greece as a part of the great world-movements in production and trade. Jason and his Heroes in quest of the Golden Fleece indicate the early commercial spirit of the Greeks and their interest in the rich products of the Euxine and the lands beyond. Either an actual fleece used as a sieve to catch the particles of gold carried in the water, or priceless fabrics "woven in the land of sunshine" gave the basis for the tradition. The Legends of Cecrops, his settlement at Athens, and the introduction of agriculture, embody and symbolize the Egyptian influence in early Greek history; similarly, the Legend of Cadmus and the teaching of the alphabet indicate the Phœnician influence. All of us have been mystified by the Trojan War stories, but when we see in that war an early illustration of the conflict between the East and the West, a conflict still going on, the war becomes more real. The rape of Helen was an incident of the frequent Trojan forays into the Aegean, with the plundering of property and the carrying away of Greeks as slaves. The Greeks were not safe so long as the powerful Trojan city occupied the outposts of Asia and fronted Europe. Troas had a strategic and commercial importance much greater in the ancient world than has Constantinople in modern

times. All Greece did not go forth to recover one woman who had gone wrong, and to punish her abductor; Greece was fighting the battle for national existence, and indeed for the existence of a Western civilization. It was this conception of the Trojan War that led a modern writer to say that when understood in all of its relations it was the one event of ancient history; but it is also an event of interest to us, and one which our interests enables us to understand.

These and other traditions were born in the infancy of a race and of a civilization. At such a time an interest could best be understood by impersonating it. Nature too was personal. The city of Athens had a tower of the winds in which not only the wind in general, but the different kinds of wind, were represented by different figures. In a family well known to the writer are young children to whom rain, wind, thunder, sun and moon are persons, and always referred to as Mr. Wind, Mr. Rain, Mr. Thunder, etc. Wind and rain for these children are made to sing a lullaby, while the thunder's roar and the lightning's flash have no terrors. It is not to be expected that children will continue to impersonate nature's forces, but in early years these forces are actual persons. Nor need we go on holding blindly to the childhood traditions of the Greeks and other peoples. Neither should these traditions be dismissed as foolish. The personality in them embodied tendencies and influences of a period of development. The interests of recent years are enabling us to retain the traditions and discern their real

meaning by resolving the personalities into the forces which lay back of them and which they typify.

Our education is always in danger of becoming subservient to what has been termed "the tyranny of yesterday." Teachers as a class are likely to be unprogressive, and this for the reason that they feel that they must justify themselves, and to do this they seek to perpetuate the education which they received. Consistency is admirable, but, as pointed out by Emerson, under certain circumstances it may become the "hobgoblin of little minds." To profit by the experience of the old education does not mean that the old is to be continued unchanged; rather, experience teaches that means should be adapted to ends and, when the ends to be attained are different, perforce the means by which these are to be reached should be modified.

We should consider anew the term, *A Liberal Education*, and have regard for the elements which enter into it. What has preceded can but add emphasis to a closing statement—the new in our system of education should include much that has been long established; and the so-called old finds new interest and added value from having regard for present interest and life. Thus the new education and the old education tend to come together. There should be much less of difference than is commonly supposed between what has been termed "cultural education" and the "education for practical affairs." Educators are, after all, dealing with the same fundamental problems, and as it would be lamentable for those promoting ap-

plied education to cut themselves from the influence of culture, so those fostering cultural education will find their task easier and more effective by increased regard for the conditions and requirements of the time in which we live, and for the practical elements in earlier times.

One training for culture and another for practical affairs would inevitably lead to class differences, and is un-American. All education should be but part of one education, the purpose of which is the training of citizens. Cultural education will be the more effective with some of the spirit of the practical; practical education needs the breath of culture. The wine of our historic culture can, and should, be handed on in the new bottles of economic thought and life, and thus we may have the commercializing of the older humanities, and the liberalizing of the present industrialism and commercialism. A cultural education need not be vague and impractical, cut off entirely from present life; nor need a practical education be devoid of culture.

IV.

SAMUEL MILLER'S RETROSPECT.

AT the opening of the nineteenth century there appeared in this country and in England successive editions of a work entitled, "A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century." The author was the celebrated theologian Samuel Miller, then a pastor in New York City, and later for many years a professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. Miller is well remembered as a controversialist, and is still an authority on many phases of church polity, but his Retrospect, interesting and valuable as it is, seems to have been quite forgotten.

The Retrospect was a labor of love growing from a single discourse, first to a projected volume, and then to two volumes. The treatment indicates a wide range of interest, unusual insight, and pleasing expression. As one reads the Retrospect he deliberates which to admire more in this man thirty-four years of age who was the product of an earlier educational régime—the fortitude with which he undertook his task, or the skill with which he accomplished it.

Judged by present standards of literary style, and accuracy and breadth of scholarship, Samuel Miller's Retrospect is a remarkable work. On its appearance

its reviewers called it a "useful and judicious compilation," and it was said that it won the applause of two hemispheres. Certain it is that the New York edition of 1803 was followed by a second New York edition in 1805, and by a London edition in the same year.

THE AUTHOR.

Samuel Miller was the son of a clergyman, by whom his early education was directed. He was admitted to the senior class of the University of Pennsylvania, and graduated with first honors in 1789. After a course in divinity he was called to a pastorate in the collegiate churches of New York City, and served in that capacity for some ten years. In 1812 Dr. Miller preached the installation sermon for the first professor appointed in the Princeton Theological Seminary, and the next year he was called to the second professorship in this Seminary, a position which he held until his death in 1850.

A striking characteristic of Samuel Miller, evidenced alike in his writings and his personal relations, was his courtesy and kindness. He was described as "bland and attractive," possessing "graceful facility," and withal as being gentle and genial. For more than a generation he was to the students of Princeton and the church of America the beau ideal of a Christian gentleman, and his influence abides through his treatise on "Clerical Manners and Habits."

Miller's published works make a long list. To biography he added books on doctrinal subjects and many

essays on the conflicting religious opinions that stirred the first third of the nineteenth century. Nor was he wanting in breadth of interest; his sermons on special occasions are numerous and much to his credit.

ELECTRICITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

From the pages of the Retrospect we gather that the present "age of electricity" is debtor more largely than we usually think to the years back of 1801. It is true that two hundred years ago electricity hardly had a place in the so-called system of natural philosophy. Miller points out that Dr. Halley began the eighteenth century by publishing a chart showing the variation of the magnetic needle; this was later re-issued, Churchman publishing the third edition of such a chart in 1800. In 1729 Stephen Gray distinguished fundamentally between electric conductivity and non-conductivity. Watson later established that friction only collected, and did not produce electricity, and Dr. Knight discovered an artificial means of making magnets in 1744, thus rendering the compass more convenient and useful. In 1754 experiments at Leyden made it possible to collect electrical fluid in a jar and discharge it by means of a conductor. Soon after this the Leyden jar was improved by bringing several jars together, thus increasing the force.

Before the middle of the century experiments had been completed showing the effects of electricity on animal and vegetable bodies, and, says our author, "it is already established as an important article of *materia*

medica." Franklin "snatched the lightning from the clouds" in 1752. Mesmer put forth his famous system of animal magnetism about 1766, and in 1774 Hehl enunciated the idea of sympathy between the human body and the magnet. In the latter part of the eighteenth century Volta invented the condenser for electrical fluid, and in 1791 Galvani, a physician of Bologna, showed by experiment the connection between what formerly had been called "animal electricity" and electricity. It was pointed out that the former was too narrow, and for it there was adopted the word *galvanism*. In 1800 Volta perfected his device with plates of silver, zinc, etc., for condensing, retaining and communicating galvanic influence, and thus that indispensable agent in the application of electricity, the battery, came into use.

Our author adds to the foregoing account something of the work of Davy, Cruikshank and others in improving the discoveries and inventions enumerated.

It is evident that the century reviewed by Samuel Miller was notable for *discoveries* in electricity. The very terminology of the science is a tribute to the greatness of the scientists of that age, but we have felt that theirs were achievements in the realm of pure science while the succeeding hundred years were to see the same knowledge brought to the use of men. Even so eminent an authority as Elihu Thompson states that there is no evidence of the application of electricity to the useful arts in the eighteenth century.

But in its accounts of the practical application of

electricity the Retrospect now under review tries our belief. The electrical telegraph was treated as seriously as though it were a complete invention. Something like this, we are told, had long been used for signals in civil and military emergencies, but as the statement goes, it was not reduced to a regular system until the beginning of the eighteenth century. We are further informed that after the French Revolution, electricity was generally applied to useful purposes. Says our chronicler, in 1799 Jonathan Grout of Massachusetts invented a telegraph essentially different from any then in use in Great Britain. This was put in operation between Boston and Martha's Vineyard, and questions were asked and answers received within the space of ten minutes. The use of electricity as an agent in war, in commerce, for the prevention of disaster, and to serve the purposes of statecraft are noted, and Miller adds, "How great importance for the present, and how much more so for the future!"

THE ATMOSPHERE.

Atmosphere as a scientific study had been first cultivated in the seventeenth century. The experiments of Torricelli in that period demonstrated that air is a gravitating substance, but it remained for the eighteenth century to improve both the barometer and the air-pump. Anderson, Franklin and Count Rumford are credited with inventions and improvements in the construction of houses, chimneys and stoves which resulted in the saving of fuel and adding to the com-

forts of living. Absorption of water into the air seems not to have been well understood until the middle of the eighteenth century; in 1765 Hugh Hamilton read an essay before the Royal Society in which he set forth the general theory of evaporation. Priestley's famous discovery of oxygen occurred in 1774, thus making clear the nature of combustion, breathing, etc.

In 1782 balloons from heated air were used, though in the next year hydrogen gas was substituted for hot air. Many of these balloons had been used before Samuel Miller wrote, though, as he said, the only practical purposes of them were for meteorological observations and for inspecting camps, fortifications, etc., of an enemy in time of war. In aerial navigation we have made great advance upon Samuel Miller's time, although we still speak in his language of hope: "Who can tell but that another century may give rise to such improvements that migrating in the air may be as safe, as easy, and as subservient to practical purposes as migrating on the ocean?"

PROGRESS OF MEDICINE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Miller's Retrospect gave much space to medicine; its relative position to other branches of science was pointed out, and its membership at that time was found to "constitute a large class of the learned world." The great progress in medical science in the eighteenth century depended upon improvements in chemistry and natural history, and better communication which

made possible the handing on of results of experiments and the exchange of opinions. It was in the later seventeenth century that there was discovered the device of making "preparations" for dissecting by filling the vascular system with a bright-colored wax. The lymphatics and thoracic duct were earlier known, but the human absorbent system, or the office of the lymphatics, was explained first in the eighteenth century. Two things characterize the study of anatomy in the eighteenth century: the use of preparations and attention to comparative anatomy.

In physiology, the eighteenth century is said to have inherited "a chaos of the wildest and most discordant principles." Mechanics had come into medicine in the seventeenth century in the teachings of a mathematical school, *i. e.*, that muscles are cords and bones levers, and that running, walking, swimming, etc., are mechanical, a theory which indicates the strong hold of mathematics in the period following the brilliant work of Sir Isaac Newton. Boerhaave and Haller gathered the preceding notions and systematized them, the latter earning the title of "father of the science of physiology." Haller in the eighteenth century also discovered the irritability of the muscular fiber and the contractile power of muscles, a property by which muscles become shorter and recede from stimuli. This quality was regarded as an inherent, independent, and permanent property of living fiber. Whytt later put forth that this irritability was due to a nervous phenomenon, though on this theory Miller did not look with special favor.

In the knowledge of such physiological processes as respiration, digestion, procreation, the eighteenth century saw much advance. Earlier the chief purpose of respiration had been thought to be the production of the voice. But, says Miller, much of the true function of the lungs came to be known in the eighteenth century. "The mystery of respiration" was shown by the then modern science of chemistry, for with the discovery of oxygen and the analysis of the atmosphere it was possible to explain respiration. Dr. Priestley contributed to this explanation by showing that there is a quantity of carbonic acid gas in the air, after it has been in the lungs, that had not been there before. It was not until Priestley had discovered that the venous blood acquires a scarlet color when brought into contact with oxygen gas, and that arterial blood becomes purple when brought into contact with hydrogen gas; that oxygen gas instantly gives venous blood the color of arterial, and that hydrogen, on the contrary, gives arterial blood the color of venous—it was not till this discovery, says our author, that scientists even began an explanation of the phenomena of respiration. Dr. Priestley enclosed blood in a bladder, and by the passage of oxygen through the moistened coats showed the effect of oxygen and the way, it passes into the blood-vessels in the lungs.

The treatment of procreation shows the relations of science and religion at that time. The doctrine of "equivocal generation" of the seventeenth century was still adhered to by those who would make possible

a belief in the existence of man without a creating God. Miller set forth the present generally accepted theories of inception of life, and adds, "Every new ray of light on this question is a new demonstration of the absurdity of atheism and of the existence of a First Great Cause."

In the theory and practice of medicine in the eighteenth century the progress was greater than in physiology. Our author sketches the systems of medicine from the revival of learning, when was quite generally accepted the wonder-working practice known as Galenic; he follows with an account of the conflict of the followers of the preceding with the chemical physicians of the seventeenth century, and traces the rise of "humoral pathology." Boerhaave, following the lead of the mathematical school, attempted to explain the phenomena of health and sickness on mathematical principles. Stahl came next with the theory that there is a rational soul that presides over all and governs all, thus controlling the economy of sickness and health. Present dangerous medical heresies, such as Faith Cure and Christian Science, have their counterpart—perhaps their suggestion—in the eighteenth-century system of Stahl.

Two other theories of medicine described at some length deserve mention: they are those of Erasmus Darwin and Sir John Pringle. Darwin taught that every part of the animal is a living principle, has sensorial power, and that disease arises as a proximate cause from what was termed the exuberance, deficiency

or retrograde action of this sensorium. Pringle in a theory of fevers set forth that miasmata and contagion act as a ferment on animal fluids. Important as this was in approaching present medical theory based on the new science of bacteriology, it was dismissed by Miller as vague and improbable.

The chief medical triumphs of the eighteenth century were over contagious diseases, the reduction of their frequency and their malignity. Leprosy was almost banished from the civilized world; but the two diseases that gave most concern were fevers and small-pox. Theories of fevers were quite as numerous as were systems of medicine, and they found their most modern expression in that of Sir John Pringle noted above. The supreme achievement in dealing with fevers was in the treatment known as *cool régime* set forth by Currie of Liverpool. By this there were added to cool air and cool drinks the external application of cold water—again a close approach to present approved modern practice.

Clearly the greatest medical success of the eighteenth century was the control over smallpox, a control fairly complete in that era. The most cursory examination of the newspapers, memoirs, and books of travel of the time indicate how frequent and deadly small-pox had been; and taking into consideration its practical disappearance, one can get some notion of how great our debt is to those who were instrumental in bringing this about. It is said that inoculation as a preventive had been introduced into Constantinople

towards the end of the seventeenth century, it having earlier been practiced by the Circassians in rearing their children for the Turkish seraglio. Lady Montague introduced the practice into England by having her children inoculated. By 1721 inoculation began to be generally adopted, coming into vogue after it was performed on the children of the royal family. The opposition, we are told, was with "zeal and intemperance," but by the middle of the century inoculation was considered as established.

In 1721 Dr. Boylston of Boston inoculated his children and servants, though to this there was violent opposition on the part of the medical profession, the clergy, and the public. Dr. Boylston's experiments were regarded as a species of murder, and for a time his life was endangered, so bitter was the feeling against him. The famous Dr. William Douglass was of the opposition party; a newspaper war was carried on, in which the *New England Courant* took sides with Douglass and his following. We are told that Benjamin Franklin "employed his opening talents in favor of the same deluded party." But inoculation increased, and from New England it was adopted in New York and Philadelphia, and by 1783 had reached to Charleston, South Carolina. By that time, Miller says, it was generally accepted by the intelligent and better classes.

Much of the earlier opposition was removed by Dr. Jenner's discovery in 1798 by which, with the use of vaccine of cowpox, there was brought on a milder and

less dangerous form of the disease. The introduction of cowpox is termed the "most memorable improvement ever made in the practice of physic." The milder form of the disease gave such effectual security that Miller could say that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the scourge of smallpox no longer excited the terror of communities.

GEOGRAPHY AND NAVIGATION.

In geographical discovery the eighteenth century almost eclipses the much famed sixteenth. At its beginning, one-half of the earth was unknown or so little known as to be of slight value; such territories as Russia and Turkey, for example, had been closed to Western Europe. In the growth of geographical knowledge in the eighteenth century, Russia and England contributed much the greater part. In making a new Russia known to the world, Peter the Great gave acquaintance with a vast empire in two continents. George I in England revived interest in geography in that country. Two purposes animated Englishmen: to reach the Orient by a North Sea passage, and to explore lands in the South Sea. At the opening of the period the continent south of the equator was *terra Australis incognita*. The most distinguished of the English voyagers was Captain James Cook, of whom our reviewer says: "Science and humanity were more indebted to him than to any other in the same line since Columbus."

Out of geographical discovery the eighteenth cen-

tury saw additions to science; new light on the theories of the tides and winds; better understanding of magnetic variations; advanced knowledge of mineralogy, botany, and zoölogy; "collections of curiosities" brought together as museums; better intercourse among peoples with the extension of trade; the introduction of new articles of consumption; and finally, an advanced knowledge of antiquities. "The enlargement of geographical knowledge during the late century has led to an *increase of the comforts and elegancies of life* in almost every part of the civilized world. By this means the productions of every climate have become known and enjoyed in every other; the inventions and improvements of one country have been communicated to the most distant regions; and the comforts of living, and the refinement of luxury, have gained a degree of prevalence among mankind greatly beyond all former precedent. Never, assuredly, in any former age, were so many of the natural productions and the manufactures of different countries enjoyed by so large a portion of the human race as at the close of the eighteenth century."

In furthering knowledge of the world, improved navigation played an important part. The eighteenth century saw ships built for sailing power as well as for carrying capacity; the mariner's compass was improved by the invention of artificial magnets; and the quadrant was invented and largely introduced for taking bearings at sea.

Horrors of the sea in earlier ages were almost re-

moved by improved diet and medical science. Scurvy on shipboard was reduced by the use of citric acid, what was termed a "late method" of crystallizing it having been discovered. Captain Cook is credited with being the first to reduce the principles of nautical medicine to practice. Ventilators are said to have been introduced into ships for the first time in the eighteenth century, resulting at once in improved health of seamen and better preservation of cargoes and ships' timbers.

INDUSTRY AND ART.

A recent writer on the nineteenth century characterizes it as a period of extraordinary progress in man's gaining control over the forces of nature, and declares that in transportation, in the handicrafts, and in the general subjection of the elements to the service of men, more progress was made in the last one hundred years than in all the preceding eras of recorded time. But Samuel Miller might, with equal show of truth, have said the same of the century which he reviewed. The eighteenth century saw much of the application of science to every-day life. The great industrial revolution which has wrought such marvelous changes in our economy is based on improvements of the eighteenth century, and began its work before that century's close. The seventeen-hundreds saw the cutting of nails substituted for hammering them on an anvil; it saw also the movable spinning frame and the power-loom. To make these effective, formidable

difficulties in the use of steam for power were overcome.

In the eighteenth century improvements in printing were marked. Better methods of making type were devised, *fac-simile* reproduction as an art was invented and stereotyped plates were first successfully cast.

Agriculture saw notable progress in the eighteenth century. Such topics as the physiology of vegetables and the chemistry of soils were seriously considered. Selecting, rearing and caring for stock became a science; the naturalization of plants attracted attention; the influence of light on vegetation was investigated, and new fertilizers, as gypsum, manure, etc., were introduced. As early as 1760 "horse hoeing and drill husbandry" were adopted, thus "making a grand era in agriculture."

In fine arts, as in those termed mechanical, the eighteenth century was notable. In portrait-painting we are to reckon with such names as Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, John C. Copley, Gilbert Stuart, and John Trumbull. The great original in comic painting, the man who is said to have composed comedies no less than Molière, William Hogarth, did his work in the same hundred years as did the allegorical painter Kauffman. To make the record at all complete there should be added an account of the work of Reeves, who in 1778 gave an improved method of preparing water-colors; and later the ingenious, though simple, device for etching on glass by means of wax and acid.

LITERARY PRODUCTIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Literary and scientific associations were relatively more important factors in the one hundred years preceding 1801 than they were in those following. In the earlier century the American Philosophical Society had been presided over by Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse and Thomas Jefferson. This society was followed in its organization by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston, and later a similar society in New Haven. The Massachusetts Historical Society had been organized and begun its work, and agricultural societies were established in every part of the Union. These various societies, with the publication of their memoirs and transactions rendered much service in the cause of learning.

The eighteenth century was a pioneer in the publication of dictionaries, encyclopedias, and similar works of reference. An early important encyclopedia was by Ephraim Chambers, in two volumes, published in 1728. A second edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" was completed in ten volumes in 1783, and enlarged to eighteen volumes in 1797. Thomas Dobson, a Philadelphia printer brought out an American edition, based on the one of 1797. This was with the now familiar, "valuable additions and corrections," and it was said to contain "much important information respecting the United States, not in the British edition." In the eighteenth century it first became common to publish dictionaries of special industries

and trades, such for example as gardening, agriculture, commerce, law, mathematics, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, painting, and music.

As a classicist, Miller lamented the decadence of the classics, which decadence had resulted, as he believed, in a scholarship less profound and less exact; but he pays a tribute to the "nations lately become literary," giving much credit to Germany, France and England. The period was one rich in translations from the Greek and Latin literatures, and it was in this century that the literary merit of great translations was first generally recognized.

The Retrospect notes the world's debt to Addison for his ease and polish of literary style, to Swift for his purity and precision, and to Pope for his mechanical accuracy. It is proud of the ponderous scholarship of Johnson; of the work of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith, and Sterne in imaginative literature; of Burke and Bishop Watson in oration and essay. It gives high place to Lindley Murray's English Grammar, the service of which, we are told, was so great as to need no eulogium. Nor does it overlook the work of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon in history.

Periodical publications in the nature of reviews and monthlies multiplied, and of them Miller could say: "They form the principal means of diffusing knowledge through every part of the civilized world; they convey, in an abridged and agreeable manner, the contents of many ponderous volumes, and frequently

supersede the appearance of such volumes, and they record every species of information, from the most sublime investigations of science to the most trifling concerns of amusement. When the future historian shall desire to obtain a correct view of the literature and manners of the period, he will probably resort to periodical publications of the day."

It was in the periodicals of the eighteenth century that criticism first "began to brandish its formidable weapon." This era is contrasted with earlier ones in which the unsuccessful author reckoned only with the publisher or printer, and fell into oblivion. Now he found the review arraigning him at a public tribunal as an offender.

The "Gentlemen's Magazine" was established in 1731, Franklin's "General Magazine" in 1741, "The Monthly Review" in 1756, and the "London Review" in 1775. These gave notices of publications, printed abstracts and criticisms of new books, cited from foreign works, etc. Miller says of their influence, that they excited attention, diffused knowledge with a taste for reading, and cultivated a spirit of criticism. By them learning was said to have such a popular cast as to descend from the shelves of the polite scholar and to emerge from the closet of the philosopher. Closely related to the foregoing were essays in the form of periodicals, such as "The Tatler," "The Spectator," "The Guardian," "The Rambler," "The Idler," "The Adventurer," "The World," "The Connoisseur," "The Mirror," "The Looker-On," "The Lounger," and "The Observer."

But Miller's arraignment of the periodical writing of the eighteenth century gives a fair criticism of the present era—"it produces ostentatious and superficial scholars, it is unfavorable to sound erudition, discourages reading and systematic thinking, and leads men to try for a short and easy path to real scholarship."

Miller called the eighteenth century "peculiarly and emphatically" the age of the novel, and he reviewed the writings of Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, and others, much as they would be reviewed by modern critics. Of the "Vicar of Wakefield" he said: "It will be read with pleasure as one of the finest, most happily imagined, and most moral pictures ever drawn." In this connection he also commented on the work of Charles Brockden Brown as that of the first American who had presented his fellow-countrymen with what was termed "a respectable piece of fictitious history."

Of the evil of reading novels Miller had no doubt. He spoke of the "thirst" for novels as ardent and extensive, even terming it a "morbid appetite." He did not question that novels might be productive of utility when properly conceived and constructed, saying that they might be written to promote knowledge and virtue, but he declared there were few of that class. They were thought to be generally positively bad or frivolous; of the best of them it could be said, they were "innocent and amusing compositions." If possible, Miller would have wholly prevented the reading of novels; at the best, he would have had the reading of a few, and these selected with vigilance.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

No more interesting controversy was inherited from the eighteenth century than that over the "omnipotence of education," and the "perfectibility of man." In brief, those who held to these doctrines believed that suffering was to be eliminated through the spread of knowledge. This doctrine had an early statement by Helvetius and Condorcet in France, and was later taken up by Godwin in England. It was Godwin's contention that vice was due to the imperfection of human institutions. This was in the line of the earlier feeling that differences in men were due to differences in moral and intellectual education.

Miller argued at length against human perfectibility through education. He said, first, it is contrary to the nature and condition of man: man does not inherit moral power. Each man must restrain his own appetites and subdue his own passions. In the second place, this doctrine is contrary to all experience; and in the third, it is in opposition to the principles of increase in population and the limit of the means of subsistence. Under this head Miller follows the lines laid down by Malthus in the "Essay on Population," which he termed a strong anonymous work, which for "force of reasoning, candor and urbanity of discussion has rarely, if ever, been exceeded." Finally, as a Calvinistic theologian, Miller discredited this doctrine as opposing the Scripture, according to which, as he believed, men are fallen and depraved beings. He was

likely right in feeling that this theory had enjoyed so large currency because it was flattering to men; it seemed to place them in a position of power and independence.

In no particular does our age stand in more striking contrast with this Retrospect of the eighteenth century than in its notion of the education of women. Said Miller, it was neither practical nor desirable that women should have the same education as men, and for the following reasons: (1) Women are destined to different employments and pursuits; they are smaller, weaker and more timid than men. (2) To make education of women the same as that of men would be productive of the most immoral consequences. Samuel Miller shrunk with horror at the thought of co-education, "the promiscuous mingling of the sexes," and affirmed that it would "convert society into a hoard of seducers and prostitutes." (3) In conclusion, as usual, he made a point of his theological argument. Equal education was thought not only impracticable; it was felt to be opposed to the spirit of Christianity. "The God of nature," he said, "has raised everlastingly barriers against such wild and mischievous claims."

CONCLUSION.

Samuel Miller commented on the general character of the eighteenth century, but nothing he said is half so satisfactory evidence of this fact as his own book. The past hundred years have been characterized by

such specialization that it is beyond one man to carry through with any degree of success so comprehensive a work as Miller's Retrospect. Reviews of the nineteenth century of equal scope were the result of co-operative effort of a dozen specialists.

One feels like expressing anew the sentiment of the London "Aikin Annual Review" at the time the Retrospect appeared: "It were ungrateful to require perfection where so much has been performed," and "it is honorable that literary curiosity should have been so alert and comprehensive." Accounts of the nineteenth century should not forget the notable achievements of the eighteenth, nor should the present ignore a work that is in many respects a revelation.

V.

UNCONSCIOUS EDUCATION.

IN their numerous conventions teachers give themselves largely to the discussions of curricula—either the content and arrangement of the subject-matter of instruction, or to the methods of presentation. Boards of Education at the same time are concerned almost wholly with the questions of material equipment; they may be parsimonious in the payment of teachers, but in late years they have been almost prodigal in the expenditures for buildings and apparatus. But in all this we need to remind ourselves that buildings and the subject-matter of instruction are of themselves dead things, that methods of teaching are mechanical devices, and that both are wholly dependent on the teachers who use them. Unless there is the living, inspiring personality of the teacher, both curricula and methods, however good in themselves, may count for naught. One may go further and say that inadequate physical equipment, bad curricula and faulty pedagogical methods may in the hands of a teacher of personal force and character accomplish desirable ends. The silent unconscious power which the teacher exerts, unconscious alike to the teacher and the taught, is

often more determining in its influence and more lasting in its effect than is the formal and purposeful teaching of the schools. A truth before which teachers should stand with bared heads is that they teach more by what they are than by what they mean to teach, or how they teach it. One wise in his generation said, "You need not tell me what you study; tell me who are your teachers."

One with rare insight in education thus expresses the truth above stated:

As the heart makes the home, the teacher makes the school. What we need above all things, wherever the young are gathered for education, is not a showy building, or costly apparatus, or improved methods or text-books, but a living, loving, illumined human being who has deep faith in the power of education and a real desire to bring it to bear upon those who are intrusted to him. This applies to the primary school with as much force as to the high school and university. Those who think—and they are, I imagine, the vast majority—that any one who can read and write, who knows something of arithmetic, geography, and history, is competent to educate young children, have not even the most elementary notions of what education is.¹

Arnold, from whom personal power radiated and who is an abiding influence in the English schools,

¹ Spaulding, *Means and Ends of Education*, 135.

once wrote his requirements for a teacher: "I want a man who is a Christian and a gentleman, and one who has common sense and understands boys. I prefer activity of the mind and interest to high scholarship, for one may be acquired far more easily than the other." President Hyde's observations are that no teacher's success can be accounted for by high scholarship alone, and he said that he had never known a failure that could not be accounted for in other ways than by lack of scholarship. Teachers should not be deceived with the thought that they are to teach a given subject or to practice a given method. Instead they are to teach boys and girls, and as Professor West observes, they may well start with an acceptance of Pope's saying,

The proper study of mankind is man.

A teacher should try to live up to the standard of being a "human being, incidentally a scholar, and accidentally in a given calling." The supreme quality of the true teacher is the *human*. With one who has a large measure of humanity, scholarship may well be incidental, and the calling accidental. The teacher should have a deep, broad and full human sympathy. No man should go into teaching who cannot accept as the fundamental tenet of his creed, "I believe in boys and girls, the men and women of the great to-morrow."

Personality is presence, attractiveness, that magnet which draws and holds. One fundamental distinction is, that personality is not eccentricity or peculiarity.

Personality includes both body and soul; both heart and mind; it is that indefinable something which binds individual to individual.

One fundamental quality of a teacher's personal force is intellectual enthusiasm. If he is to succeed in being the inspirer of others he must himself be a learner, for an active mind is necessary to stimulate other minds to activity. Some one asked Thomas Arnold late in life how it was that he who had spent so many years in teaching found it necessary still to employ several hours each day in studying. The Prince of Schoolmasters answered, "I study that my pupils may drink at a living fountain, not at a stagnant pool." Edward Suess, the great Austrian geologist, said in his farewell lecture: "When I became a teacher, I did not cease to be a student; and now that I cease to be a teacher, I shall not cease to be a student."

Professor Meiklejohn, in a late paper in answer to the question, *Is Mental Training a Myth*, reaches the conclusion:

"I am persuaded, however, that far more important than the subject (of study) is the mind of the teacher. The one sure way to learn good thinking is to come into contact with a mind which thinks well and to feel its influence. In the game of thinking, as in games of the athletic field, one learns best by practice in fast company. And it is not, in my opinion, necessary, as is sometimes suggested, that the method of the teacher should find expression in conscious ideals which may

be communicated as guiding principles to the student." ¹

Euthusiasm is as a moving force in education, and the most pitiable creature one can well imagine is a teacher with his enthusiasm gone. His life is then burned out. Those who have been much about schools and colleges are familiar with the type represented by an Oxford professor of whom the statement was made that he was a cupboard full of learning, but that the door to this learning was locked. The unused power of a teacher may well be likened to a shell found on the field years after the battle of Waterloo, with the explosive power still enclosed, but from which the fuse had died out. The fuse of enthusiasm is a necessity if the teacher's power is to be exerted. It is the enthusiasm of youth that often gives young teachers marked power. But this enthusiasm need not be limited by years. President Eliot tells us that there are two kinds of persons who make good teachers, those who are young in years, and those who never grow old. Dr. Arnold feared for loss of influence at Rugby if he were not able to run upstairs.

The most important of the qualities operating in unconscious education is the basal character of the teacher. In last analysis this is the life back of the teaching. And here is a case where "what one is goes before what one has or does." There must be a genuineness of the teacher's interest—his deep concern

¹ *Educational Review*, February, 1909.

for those with whom he labors. Out of this interest he is moulding those whom he teaches. It was this thought that Emerson expressed when he said, "I cannot hear what you say, because behind what you say thunders so loud what you are." Of Emerson himself a lady once remarked that although she did not understand what he said, she loved to hear him lecture, because he looked like so good a man.

As Bishop Spaulding well says:

Education is essentially a vital process. It is a furthering of life; and as the living proceed from the living, they can rise in the wider world of ideas and conduct only by help of the living; and as in the physical realm every animal begets after its own likeness, so also in the spiritual the teacher can give but what he has. If the well-spring of truth and love has run dry within himself, he teaches in vain. His words will no more bring forth life than desert winds will clothe arid sands with verdure.

Character is not a quality to be assumed. Young people are quick to discriminate between the professions and the practices of those with whom they associate.

The relation of the true teacher to his pupils may well become that of the risen Lord to his apostles on the way from Emmaus; they felt their hearts burn within them as he talked with them on the way. The Christ

taught as one having authority because he spoke with his whole nature. The shadow of the life of the teacher falls on those who come under his influence either to heal or to hurt; the character in him may, like the shadow of the apostles of old, fall upon those who come within his path to their healing.

From the character of the teacher comes the kind of teaching that lasts. "As the student emerges from the school," writes Dr. E. J. Goodwin, "and takes up the duties of life, he more and more loses his hold upon the facts of geography, history, language, mathematics, and science which have been taught him with so much solicitude; but the intellectual training which he gets from study, and the ideals of character and conduct, the outlook upon life—its duties and opportunities—which he gets from the teacher, are permanent acquisitions which may contribute more toward his ultimate success and serviceableness than any knowledge which he has obtained from his school-books."

Recent striking arraignments of our systems of education are to the effect that they develop persons of mere intellect and do not properly train the emotions and sensibilities. Education, the statement goes, produces "intellectual degenerates." Of late there has been much said on moral education, but the personality of the teacher is at the root of all moral training. The teacher's ideals, sincerity, poise, self-control, courtesy, voice, manner of dress and attitude toward life are in a recent syllabus well termed the most potent forces

for the training of those in the schools. This again has been well expressed by Bishop Spaulding :

Life produces life, life develops life; and if the teacher have within himself a living sense of the all-importance of conduct, if he thoroughly realize that what we call knowledge is a small part of man's life, his influence will nourish the feelings by which character is evolved. The germ of a moral idea is always an emotion, and that which impels to right action is the emotion rather than the idea. The teachings of the heart remain forever, and they are the most important; for what we love, genuinely believe in and desire, decides what we are and may become. Hence the true educator, even in giving technical instruction, strives not merely to make a workman, but to make also a man.¹

The teacher is a "channel marker" for life. Mark Twain, in telling of his experiences as a young pilot on the Mississippi River, said that on the river in those days were three "incomparables" as pilots, and that one of them, Ben Thornburgh by name, made so fine a reputation for escaping the reefs and bars that he was the standard for safety, and men would declare "As safe as Ben Thornburgh." Of him Mark Twain writes: "Nobody needed to search for the best water after Ben Thornburgh. If he could not find it no one

¹ *Means and Ends of Education*, 148.

could. I felt that way about him, and so more than once I waited for him to find the way, then dropped into his steamer's wake and ran over the wrecks of his buoys on half steam until the leadsman's welcome cry of 'Mark Twain' informed me that I was over the bar all right and could draw a full breath again."

To look at a worthy example in the teacher begets unconsciously its like in the child. An incident is recorded of the presentation of a beautiful picture to a somewhat irresponsible undergraduate at Oxford. This picture was hung in the young man's room in a prominent place, amidst a medley of cheap cuts and objectionable prints. One by one the gaudy favorites disappeared, and in time the beautiful picture was surrounded by others in harmony with its character. In explanation the young man said: "You see, I couldn't leave them up with that. The contrast was too dreadful. I didn't see it at first, but I suppose that looking at the picture opened my eyes till I could see it, and then, I tell you, these cheap prints came down in a hurry! And it was the same way in putting up new pictures. That one set the standard, and I knew I couldn't have, and didn't want, anything that wasn't in harmony with it."

The next of the elements in this unconscious education is a genuine sympathy for those taught and a capacity to get their point of view. Such a sympathy is born of affection; of it Emerson says in his *Plato*: "If there is love between us, our intercourse will be profitable; if not, your time is lost and you will only

annoy me . . . all my good is magnetic, and I educate not by lessons, but by going about my business." Because of their lack of sympathy some teachers fall under the criticism of a minister of whom an old farmer said: "He told us if we did right, we would get to heaven, but if we did wrong, we would go to hell, and he didn't seem to care much which."

It is this sympathy which enables the teacher to be the spiritual father of those whom he teaches. *In loco parentis* is not to be used in the sense of merely taking the place of the authority of the parent, but of superseding the parent in affection and desire to advance the interest of young people. Boswell tells that when Dr. Johnson went to Pembroke College, Oxford, he had as tutor one Jorden, whom he learned to love and respect not for his literary attainments or scholarship, but for his genuine interest. With characteristic fidelity Boswell records a remark of Johnson, "Whenever a young man becomes Jorden's pupil he becomes his son." To refer again to Arnold, we have under this head his statement, "If ever I could receive a new boy from his father without emotion I should think it was high time to be off."

Arnold's opinion of a school is that it is a place, first, for the promotion of a character; learning and study are secondary and as a means to a higher end. The results of genuine interest were never better shown than in Arnold's influence. When Dean Stanley was once asked of the amount Arnold taught as lessons, he held up a small notebook and said he could put into

that book all of such teaching that Arnold ever gave him. Arnold's influence was stimulative rather than instructional. His personality is a living force, and Stanley well showed that the image of Arnold's work which we have before us is not the school, or the writing, but the man himself.

Marked development on the part of the students has been the outgrowth of this genuineness of interest, and of many great teachers it might be said, "Thou shalt get kings, though thou shalt be none." Of Jowett the statement is made that he was a "student fancier"—that is, one who understood students, divined their needs, and stimulated them to their best efforts. No true teacher can fail to have deep satisfaction in the development and directing promising students, and in such experience he has the richest reward for his work.

Educational history is replete with evidences of the results flowing from unconscious education of great masters. In quoting from Agassiz in his lectures Professor Shaler used to say with reverence, "my master Louis Agassiz," and as the influence of Agassiz lived in Shaler, so his influence lives with multitudes of students. It almost came to be a tradition at Harvard that every one must take a course with Professor Shaler, "not so much for the subject as for the man."

A high tribute was once paid to Dr. Nott of Union College in a statement that "He took the sweepings of other colleges and sent them back into society pure gold." In a recent discussion with regard to the relative merits of students entering different departments

in a given school, one department was criticized because of the character of students it received; but the one in charge of it was able to make its defense in the statement that the important thing was not the character of student received but of the product turned out, and he could point with pride to the honorable record of this department's graduates.

In the inspiring life of Alice Freeman Palmer, Professor Palmer attributes the career of this remarkable woman to the early influence of a teacher of character and insight. "It was this man," said Professor Palmer, "who made her think herself worth while." The coming of this teacher into the life of Miss Freeman is made the occasion for saying: "Such an event has formed the turning-point for many a life, and more often than any other has been decisive in bringing about a studious career. Some one person has vitalized knowledge for us—it matters little what branch—and almost magically our vague and variable desire for learning, power, public service, becomes crystallized and takes a shape which defies the battling of after years. Personal influence is a commanding factor everywhere, but nowhere has it such immediate and lasting effect as in the schools."

Dr. Arnold's success at Rugby came as he wished it to come, more largely from the atmosphere of the place than from mere book learning. "The management of boys," said he, "has all the interest of a great game of chess, with living creatures for pawns and pieces, and your adversary the devil, who truly plays

a tough game and is very hard to beat." There was in the English public schools a low moral tone when Arnold came to Rugby, and his labor was to reform the glaring evils. His rules were that to make a boy a gentleman is to treat him as one, and the way to make a boy truthful is to believe what he says; and soon it became a tradition at Rugby that it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie, for he always believed it. The school chapel became an important institution in the life of the place, and here Arnold made his telling talks on moral cowardice, fidelity to parents, and so on. In dealing with boys he knew when to see and when not to see, as the good of the boy could be best served.

What has been termed the "contagious enthusiasm" of Dr. Arnold's character reformed the English public schools. After Arnold went to Oxford as Regius Professor of Modern History a hypercritical and unsympathetic don wrote of his lectures, "Everything he does, he does with life and force, and I cannot help liking his manly and open way."

This accomplishment of Arnold's could be matched in many ways. President Jordan has remarked on what he terms the martyrdom of President Tappan which made the University of Michigan the great force that it has been among institutions of higher education. Alexander the Great, notable as a military commander and promoter of the world's civilization, made the remark that to his father he was indebted for living, but to his teacher, Aristotle, he was indebted for living well.

One finds in inspecting schools that to a remarkable degree the spirit of the directing head dominates teachers and pupils alike. Schools which are under the same official regulations and are a part of the same system will be found to differ widely, and with no explainable cause except the differences in the men who are back of the regulations carrying them out. So largely was this found to be true in a visit to European schools that two American teachers were able again and again to forecast the character of a school from an interview with the director. Good schools were found with bad official regulations and under physical conditions which were most unpromising, and poor schools existed elsewhere despite good official regulations and what were clearly favorable conditions for carrying them on. The explanations were in the differences in the character and personal influence of those who were the presiding geniuses of the different schools. The same differences can be noted in the different class-rooms of a given school.

In a larger way great educational reforms have resulted from the spirit of some leader who has visioned an ideal. Near the close of the eighteenth century Humboldt in Germany wrote: "The thing is not to let the schools and universities go on in a dreary and impotent routine; the thing is to raise the culture of the nation ever higher and higher by their means." The King of Prussia called Humboldt to put his ideas into practice as Minister of Education, and he laid the foundations for the brilliant educational career that

Prussia had in the nineteenth century. So George Kerschensteiner was called by the city of Munich to work out his ideas for making a system of education serve the industries of a community. As Schulrat of Munich, Kerschensteiner has made her schools probably the most famous of any in the world. As one goes to Munich and studies her schools he finds everywhere the touch of the master-hand of Kerschensteiner. In England also a great teacher and leader is quietly yet masterfully shaping and moulding the educational thought of communities and of the nation, and Michael E. Sadler by means of his special reports, and his recommendations to various cities, has exercised a lasting influence upon the schools of his country.

Teachers and educational leaders alike should welcome the call to an "aristocracy of service." The true teacher knows that virtue goes out of him, and the one who gives his life without stint may sap his physical strength, may become a-weary in the stimulation and direction of other minds; but he should find deep satisfaction in the thought that he is weaving the warp and the woof of character. The true relation of the teacher and his pupil is illustrated by Socrates and Plato, Arnold and Stanley, and the Divine Master and His Disciples.

The demands which a standard of unconscious education raises should not dishearten the teacher, but it should stimulate him rather to meet these demands. The teacher can, by his own true life and lofty purpose, develop the power of personality which will mould the

plastic life committed to his charge. Longfellow found inspiration for the work of a potter in the thought of the finished product, and he makes the potter sing at his task :

Turn, turn my wheel ; this earthen jar,
A touch can make, a touch can mar,
And shall it to the potter say,
' What makest thou, thou hast no hand ? '

Sculptors whom the world remembers and calls great have but chiseled imperfect creations from lifeless marble. How much more important is the task committed to the teacher, of helping to form the perfect life. A recent description of a battle indicates that in the developments of the art of war, movements and the signs of battle become invisible through the use of smokeless powder and the inconspicuous color of the uniforms worn. The fighting-line is not discernible, but the observer catches here and there an indication of a great struggle in progress. So teachers may feel that in secret, away from the gaze of the world, and even unconsciously to themselves, they are fighting the battles for a higher life. The most enduring pleasure from teaching is in the thought that the best one is and can be will live again in his pupils. In this thought teachers should find the supreme satisfaction for their effort, the richest reward for their service.

It goes without saying that the preceding statement of the teacher's silent influence, implies that lessons are to be given consciously, and that these lessons are to

train the intelligence and perfect the skill of those being taught. What is here urged is the unconscious effect of capacity and thorough work by the teacher; the incidental consequences of teaching well done—the results from the teacher's example.

VI.

THE NESTOR OF AMERICAN SCHOOLMASTERS.¹

To have rounded out eighty and three years in perfect health and with well-preserved faculties; to have completed sixty-four years in the arduous calling of a teacher, the last twenty-nine of which were without a day's absence because of illness; to have taught high ideals and shown a worthy example to above twenty thousand young men, and sent them forth to usefulness and honor in public and private life; to have been schoolmaster to the United States senators, governors, and judges; to see his children and grandchildren pass through his own school, and in the heyday of youth to welcome his great-grandchildren as associates in the pursuit of knowledge; to stand as a stalwart oak while friends, colleagues, and family pass to the beyond; to keep amid all perplexities and vicissitudes a simple trust and an unswerving devotion to duty—this is but the life history of Zephaniah Hopper of the Philadelphia Central High School. No citizen of Philadelphia is more respected than is this unpreten-

¹ Reprinted with slight change from *The School Review*, February, 1907.

tious teacher of young men, who seems to have found in disinterested service the secret of perpetual youth.

Zephaniah Hopper is of Quaker stock. As his father was a carpenter of limited means, and young Zephaniah the oldest of seven children, he was kept at school with difficulty, and kept there at all only because certain of his teachers urged that the lad's earnestness should be rewarded with an opportunity to continue his studies. Of his school days Professor Hopper says he is sure that any good showing he may have made was more the result of diligent application than of superior talent, as he has always acquired knowledge with difficulty.

In 1838 the Central High School was established, and a year later young Hopper entered as a member of its second class. Marked ability on his part gained for him promotion to the first class, and he was graduated in 1842. At the Central High School he came under the presidency of Alexander Dallas Bache, a great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin and a man who had already made for himself an honored name by his report on *Education in Europe*. The Central High School in which Zephaniah Hopper was educated was the embodiment of the educational ideas of one of the most advanced thinkers of the time, and that school still bears the mark of Bache's influence.

Professor Hopper's life as a student and teacher covers the whole period of free schools in Pennsylvania. While he was still at a private school in 1835, Thaddeus Stevens made his impassioned defense of

the free school bill and secured state-supported schools. The Central High School was an early result of free education in Pennsylvania. It is also one of the oldest public high schools of the country. Few schools have done more for their communities than has the Central High School for Philadelphia; in manufactures and commerce, in the professions and public service, its graduates have had honored places, and throughout they have stood for what is best in the life of the city. Of this great school Zephaniah Hopper was first the product, and in it he has later been a most positive and beneficent influence.

In the autumn of 1842 Professor Hopper began his career as a teacher, at the salary of \$200 a year. At this time he walked a distance of seven miles to his school in the morning and back again at night. Five years later the young schoolmaster became principal of the Jefferson Grammar School in Philadelphia, and here he soon made a reputation by his character and earnestness. These were the days of learning by effort, and Professor Hopper tells how he came to realize that in accurate work and strict drill there is a moral quality as well as a mental discipline. Few men were more famed than he as drillmaster and disciplinarian. Corporal punishment was common—"birching," the subject of this sketch calls it; and he is still remembered by Jefferson school boys as the possessor of a vigorous arm that used to knock the dust out of the jackets of offenders; but the reminiscences of those days never fail to mention what are

likely the most striking characteristics of this man—his sense of justice and his fine discrimination in dealing with boys. The craft of the schoolmaster has changed much since the forties, but this great teacher has kept pace with the changes, and he is firm in the opinion that the days that are now are better than were those of old time.

The Jefferson Grammar School developed such an *esprit de corps* that its students of an earlier generation still point with pride to their connection with the school. The record of those from this school in passing for admission into the Central High School, and the character of their work after being admitted, reflected such credit on their principal that in 1854 he was asked to become a teacher in the school that had educated him. From the date of his appointment his service was continuous for above fifty-three years, and the wonder is, as was remarked by the late United States Commissioner of Education, that human strength could have endured for so long a time.

Professor Hopper began as a teacher of English, but his success as a private tutor in mathematics led to his transfer to that department. In 1869 he became a teacher in the Artisans' Night School in the Central High School building, and later he was for twenty years principal of this school. Twice, for a space aggregating above two years, Professor Hopper was acting president of the Central High School; but he refused to accept the presidency permanently, merely discharging the duties of the office until a suit-

able person could be found to relieve him, when he returned to the more intimate association he would have with pupils in the classroom. These decisions now appear as an evidence of the man's inspired common sense, for they have contributed to length of life and increased usefulness.

In 1892 Professor Hopper lost his life's companion, to whom he had been married in 1845. His married life had been almost ideal, and, as he is a man of deep feeling and close home ties, the loss of his wife proved almost more than he could bear. He found comfort in his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, and through them he has kept up the family interest; but he has also found consolation in communion with nature, and he has become in his later years an ardent and skilled botanist. No youth ever pursued knowledge with keener zeal than is shown by this young octogenarian. His regret is that he did not start in this field of science earlier in life, for, as he says, he fears that he will not be able to compass it to his satisfaction.

With the new interest the schoolmaster connected himself at the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences and joined its botanical expeditions. Not content with these, he organizes parties of his own, or goes alone; and in this way he has explored the country for many miles, and has discovered many rare specimens of flowers. Each season brings its delights; in the winter he studies trees and works in the extensive herbarium of the Academy; spring, summer and

autumn flowers are eagerly sought, the dates of their appearance noted, and these compared with the times of their former appearance. This interest is kept up at Atlantic City, where Professor Hopper spends his vacations. In the early mornings and forenoons of the summer he takes long walks and gathers the flowers, to which he devotes the afternoons. He takes much pride in mounting his specimens and has prepared a private herbarium. As duplicate specimens are secured, they are prepared, and either the originals or the duplicates are presented to his friends.

Those who know of this schoolmaster's interest often send him specimens of rare flowers from a distance, and he is always ready to exchange for these the flowers of his own locality. His diary contains repeated mention of some rare walk, some new flower, or the special beauty of an old friend. The activity of the man in this field of his endeavor is striking. His diary records that in 1903 he made eighty-eight botanical journeys, secured and mounted over four hundred specimens, and had twenty correspondents on botanical subjects. And all this time our botanist has been a teacher of mathematics. But he has found in botany an opportunity for out-of-door life, a means of health, and a diversion from his regular duties. In short, Professor Hopper attributes his present preserved health to his interest in botany, and he recommends the rule: "Ride a hobby and keep young."

But what of the teaching of Zephaniah Hopper all these years? Long ago he took as his ideal: "Never

be old," and, "Be a friend of the boys." Those who know the man can testify how well he has realized these ideals. At eighty-three he walked with a sprightly, strong step; his carriage was erect, and his attention alert. With a show of pride he says, "I walk from my house to the school (a distance of sixteen city blocks, or nearly two miles) in exactly twenty-seven minutes," adding with a twinkle of the eye, "which I think is as well as I could have done sixty years ago." In considering Professor Hopper, one is reminded at many points of Dr. Thomas Arnold; he has Arnold's pride of physical strength, and the feeling that any show of weakness would lower him in the estimation of his pupils. On a visit to his room when he was past eighty-two, he was found standing in the center of the room; there were a dozen boys at the board; everything was attention, and the work was going on admirably. One felt that this quiet, positive man might be sixty, but senses belied the statement that he was above fourscore.

The secret of Professor Hopper's success in teaching is preparedness and faithful devotion to details. Regularly he arrives at school at five minutes before eight; he goes to his room, lays out his working materials, and prepares for every detail of the day's work. No general ever planned a campaign with greater minuteness than that with which this teacher plans the work of each day. As a result he is never caught off his guard; he is prepared for every emergency. A president of the Philadelphia Board of Education, who was

in Professor Hopper's class in 1854, says of him that he commanded the respect of every boy that came to his room; that his very presence preserved order. If this great teacher could give to the teachers of America the practical lesson of the worth of preparedness, he would render a greater service than would be done by the writing of innumerable books on the theory of education.

It is as a friend to the boys that Professor Hopper is most attractive. Fairness, friendliness, and cheerfulness have been his watchwords. But his friendship is no weak sentimentalism that coddles boys and condones their shortcomings; there are in his character a ruggedness and stern justice, which are shown in dealing with dereliction; and yet no boy ever passed from his influence without feeling that he had come under the shadow of one who hated meanness and loved nobility. A man could not well have lived for sixty-three years in intimate association with young lives and not love those for whom he has worked. Professor Hopper's colleagues know that his justice is always enforced with a thought of the good of the boys, and if in aught he errs, it is in tempering justice with too great mercy. He has been respected to a remarkable degree by the boys of the Central High School, and he is one of the few whom the successive generations of students have not dubbed with a nickname. True, his length of service has been the occasion of some pleasant raillery, but always attended with respect, and this pleasantry has been enjoyed by

no one more than by Professor Hopper himself. A song has been composed, going to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," and containing such lines as :

When Zephaniah was quite small,
He played with Billy Penn, sir ;

and,

Zephaniah is our joy,
Our "Grand Old Man", our youngest boy.

A sight never to be forgotten is the greeting to their old teacher by the Central High School alumni at their annual reunions. He is always called on for a speech, and he always gets the same generous, hearty welcome. His face beams with pride as he speaks to the large body of men whom he has helped to train ; many of these men have come to high honors, and not a few of them seem Professor Hopper's seniors. As one contemplates this scene, he cannot avoid the conclusion : To be such a man, and sit thus enthroned in the heart's affection, is better than to wear a crown of empire.

In passing to his broader life, we find Professor Hopper a useful citizen, a Christian gentleman of temperate habits and refined tastes. He is probably without an enemy in the world. Of him in truth we could say : "He knows not how to speak a word of harshness or how to make a foe." In these last days there come from every side tributes to his life and work. His name has become a household word in Philadelphia. John Wanamaker writes his congratulations, and adds : "I remember you almost back to my first days in Philadelphia."

In these hurrying times men have come and gone and are forgotten, but here in the serenity of youthful age is one who has gone on and on, and whose influence will go on forever. Not only is Professor Hopper a great teacher, but he is a remarkable example of the blessings of a life lived without worldly ambition or ostentation; he has the rewards of a man who seeks in a quiet way to do day by day the task which the successive days bring. When asked in 1906 to express a sentiment with regard to his past life, he said in words choked with feeling: "When I reflect that I have had continuous employment as a teacher since 1842, that I have had good health, and felt in love with my work, I cannot find words to express my gratitude."

VII.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS.

THE 1908 Report of the American Bar Association's Committee on Canons of Professional Ethics gives further evidence of the tendency to recognize a higher standard of conduct, and to give effect to claims of public welfare upon those who are following what are properly called the liberal professions. An old story goes that an Irishman, in passing a tombstone on which there was the epitaph, "A Great Lawyer and an Honest Man," remarked, "Faith and has it come to burying two men in one grave?" The lawyers now come forward with the claim that honesty is a basal requisite for one to become a great lawyer.

In 1903 the American Medical Association adopted the so-called Principles of Medical Ethics, which were copyrighted in the name of the Association and were printed and distributed by the Association as what was termed a "suggestive and advisory document." This is a compact summary in three chapters. The first is under the heading, "The Duties of the Physicians to Their Patients;" the second, "The Duties of Physicians to Each Other and the Profession at

Large;" and the third, "The Duties of the Medical Profession to the General Public." In the statement of the duties of the physician to his patients, there are eight general sections covering a wide range of interest, and in general, we can say that there is in this statement a careful definition of a physician's duty, and directions for a course of conduct in almost all relations that may arise.

There have been numerous evidences in the local medical associations that this code of principles is not a dead letter and that the professional organizations have been binding these rules upon their fellow practitioners and bringing to discredit, both in their own associations and in the public mind, those who will not abide by the standards.

Similarly the American Electrical Engineers, at a convention in Niagara Falls in 1907, referred the question of a code of ethics to the Board of Directors, and this board later, by resolution, formally approved the drafting of such a code. A preliminary statement was drawn up and presented to the engineering profession. The material in this statement is classified under six general heads, the enumeration of which indicates the character of the topics dealt with. First, "General Principles;" second, "Relations of the Electrical Engineer to his Employer, Customer or Client;" third, "Relations of the Electrical Engineer to the Ownership of the Records of his Work;" fourth, "Relation of the Electrical Engineer to the Public;" fifth,

“Relation of the Electrical Engineer to the Engineering Fraternity;” and sixth, “Relation of the Engineer to the Standards of his Profession.” This preliminary draft was distributed to the members of the Institute of Electrical Engineers with a request for suggested changes, to be revised and presented for final adoption at a future meeting.

This same subject was made the theme of the presidential address before the American Institute of Mining Engineers in 1908. Mining engineers were cautioned against making favorable reports on properties for sale in cases where they were to receive payment if a sale resulted from their reports. An engineer, it was said, must needs have an unparalleled reputation for integrity to endure that revelation of this situation which he cannot without dishonesty withhold. It will be observed that the practice here criticized amounts in effect to the contingent-fee abuse of the lawyers, to be considered later in this essay.

In the teaching profession and in the ministry, standards of conduct are well understood as bearing on the relations which one sustains to his immediate constituency, to those who are carrying on the same sort of work as himself, and to the general public. Recently the suggestion has been advanced in several quarters that a definite formulation of professional ethics for these two callings would be of advantage. The statement that a formal code is necessary for the

professional conduct of clergymen appears at first like carrying the demand for professional ethics to an extreme, and yet one who observes soon sees that among clergymen and in the work of the churches there is much regrettable jealousy and overreaching. More regard for the general good, which is the underlying principle of professional ethics, would result in greater harmony among the churches and a larger usefulness of clergymen.

The State Educational Association of Alabama set an example to similar associations elsewhere by adopting in 1909 a code of ethics for teachers. Twenty-two years earlier the State Bar Association of the same State led the way by adopting the first formal code of ethics for lawyers.

The Alabama Teacher's Code opens with a statement that its aim is "to assist teachers in settling difficult questions of professional conduct, to quicken their sympathies for each other, to exalt their professional ideals, etc." Quotation with approval of such sentiments as "Teaching is the noblest of professions and the sorriest of trades," and "Example and practice are more efficient than precept and theory," can but have a helpful effect.

Thirty-three "Rules and Principles" make up the Alabama Code. These lay upon teachers the necessity for a high standard of personal and professional conduct. Teachers are enjoined to refrain from "all vocations or pursuits whereby the profession of teach-

ing may be brought into disrepute." They are cautioned against "undue political ambitions and activities." Teachers are also commanded to support the dignity and good name of Boards of Education, superintendents and others in authority. The merit system of appointments of teachers is endorsed, and it is urged that teachers be prompt and zealous in urging such a system of appointments. Mere release of a Board of Education, it is held, "is not sufficient to justify a teacher in terminating a contract in a shorter time than that allowed by law."

Exploitation of a teacher's reputation by complimentary press notices, or advertisements, is condemned as undignified and unprofessional. Teachers are also commanded not "to bid for positions." "It is unprofessional, undignified and dishonorable for a teacher to apply for a position not avowedly vacant." Teachers are similarly charged not to use any influence whatever to handicap the present incumbent in a position or create a vacancy. It is declared to be undignified for a teacher to succeed to a given position at a salary lower than was paid to his predecessor.

The practice of using the teaching profession as "a stepping-stone to other more profitable and so-called higher professions" is deprecated and condemned in strong terms. Adverse criticism of a predecessor or a fellow-teacher is held to be "unethical," and teachers are urged to stand together and help each other in promoting a common cause. The extent to which the suggested help to each other is carried is shown by a

rule which says, "Surviving teachers are especially enjoined to attend carefully to the education and employment of the children of deceased teachers."

Wisconsin teachers also have prepared a formal statement of principles to serve as a standard of conduct. This is briefer and more general, though similar to the code adopted in Alabama. Beyond question, many teachers are acting even in advance of these Codes of Ethics, but many are not, and the formal fixing of standards of conduct would be a gain to the whole craft of teachers, and to the larger interests which they serve.

Reputable newspapers and magazines, and publishing-houses as well, maintain a high standard of professional conduct. One gives out definite interviews to the great dailies with confidence that these will be used as they are given out, and this confidence is rarely betrayed: Matter is kept for days by newspapers, according to promise, and it is made public only at a time agreed upon. It is said of Charles A. Dana, one of the greatest newspaper editors of the last generation, that he chose men as much for character as for brains. Integrity and square dealing are the rule in journalism, and one who departs from these loses caste with his craft and ceases to have influence with the public.

Accountancy is one of the youngest callings making claims for recognition as a liberal profession, and

closely related as it is to business practice, it is most natural that those who are engaged in it should raise the question of the ethics by which they should be guided. The Certified Public Accountants in recent conventions have given a leading place to a discussion of professional ethics, and approved the provision for a standing committee to consider cases of doubtful practice and report their findings in such cases to the annual meeting. It can be well seen that here is a large field in which abstract principles of justice must be adapted to difficult relations in a daily course of conduct. The accountants have sought to make a line of distinction between what in a broad way they term business competition and professional competition; and as with the other professions, there is with them a recognition of three relations which the accountant sustains in carrying on his work. These are set down as his relation to his client, his relation to the general public, and his relation to his fellow-practitioners. It is held, and rightly, that the relations of the accountant to his client do not justify him in doing violence to his obligations to the general public, and that he should have full regard for a high standard of conduct in relation to his professional brethren.

The need for professional ethics is perhaps more obvious in the law than in any other of the liberal callings, and here is well illustrated the fact that a newcomer in a profession is required for his own success to follow the practice of those in the profession when

he enters. Thus exists the need for defined standards and high ideals. More than fifty years ago Justice Sharswood declared of the law that so many temptations arose in its practice, and so many difficult questions of duty were presented that in the path of the young practitioner there were "pitfalls and mantraps at every step." Nor have the difficulties for lawyers and the need for clearly-defined professional standards diminished in recent years. The growth of new economic interests with new forms of practice, known as corporation law, and the conflict of private gain and public welfare, present a new need for a standard which happily the lawyers are now seeking to establish.

The attempt to set a standard of conduct for lawyers is not new, nor is it confined to our own country. Christian V of Denmark and Norway promulgated such a code in 1683. Dr. Samuel Johnson in 1765 formulated a prayer for lawyers which was a plea for knowledge, "to direct the doubtful and instruct the ignorant, to prevent wrongs and terminate contentions." In the German States of modern times there is administered to lawyers a binding oath for the exaction of fair fees, for aid in the settlement and not the continuance of suits, and for promoting justice and the public welfare.

David Hoffman, of Baltimore, early in the nineteenth century formulated fifty resolves concerning the professional conduct of lawyers, which resolves gave wholesome regard for the rights and dignity of judges, opponents, witnesses and clients. One of these decla-

rations was a refusal on the part of a lawyer to become a "partner in knavery" with a client to accomplish unworthy ends. The last of Hoffman's resolutions was that the lawyer should read the preceding forty-nine resolutions at least twice every year of his professional life.

Justice George Sharswood's book on Professional Ethics was published first in 1854. Of this book a distinguished lawyer later said, "It deserves to be written in letters of gold." This book has remained up to the present a classic on the subject with which it deals. In 1907 Sharswood's work was printed as one of the reports of the American Bar Association and distributed gratuitously to all its members—the only book ever thus reprinted. Its influence is obvious on the codes of professional ethics adopted by the bar associations in several states and the American Bar Association.

In addition to the foregoing, repeated declarations have been made against questionable practices by lawyers, and several of these have lately been gathered together and circulated by the American Bar Association. Abraham Lincoln advised lawyers to "discourage litigation." Said he, "Point out how nominal winners are often the real losers." And again, "As a peacemaker, the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man." He advised such a "moral tone" in the law that bad men would be driven out of the profession.

Codes of legal ethics have been adopted by the bar

associations of quite a group of states, the first of which was Alabama in 1887. In addition to the formal codes, oaths of admission to the bar in a number of states prescribed high standards of conduct for lawyers. One of the most advanced of the oaths of admission is that of Washington, which has been made a model for several other states, and which in its main features has been recently approved by the American Bar Association.

At the 1906 meeting of the American Bar Association, a committee reported favorably on the advisability and practicability of formulating and adopting a Canon of Professional Ethics. A further report was made at the Portland meeting in 1907, at which time the Bar Association ordered a committee to draft a Canon of Professional Ethics and have it ready for adoption at the 1908 meeting of the Association. Henry St. George Tucker of Virginia was chairman of this committee and Lucien Hugh Alexander of Pennsylvania was its secretary. On the committee were such distinguished jurists as Justice David J. Brewer and Judge Alton B. Parker. Justice Brewer, in writing on the work of the committee, said that the bar will lose its place unless it is a leader not merely in brain strength, but also in moral power.

The canons as prepared by the committee were submitted to the members of the Association in May, 1908, for preliminary consideration, and as an evidence of the interest which they elicited more than one thousand communications relative to them were re-

ceived by the committee before the August meeting of the Association. In the main there was cordial endorsement of the canons which the committee had prepared, and after some slight changes in wording, which were made in advance of the meeting, and one amendment on the floor of the convention, the canons were duly adopted and promulgated as an authoritative standard of professional conduct.

The code of the American Bar Association is throughout an evidence of a high regard for public rights and general welfare. Here is an attempt to maintain standards which make lawyers in reality "high priests of justice." Thus the legal profession is tending to the standards set by Sharswood when he considers ethics under two heads: those duties that the lawyer owes to the public or commonwealth; and those which he owes to his client, his professional brethren, and the court. The first of these is properly held to be more far-reaching than the second, and should outweigh it in case of conflict, for, said Sharswood, "there should be a feeling in the public mind that, taken together, all the machinery of the law is a strong castle in which dwells justice." A lawyer as well as a judge should be regarded as a permanent officer whose business it is to promote right. And if he does not contribute to that end, he defeats the very purpose for which law exists, and denies his own right to be. Incidentally one of the sections of the recent canon declares, "The profession is a branch of the administration of justice and not a mere money-getting trade."

The sections of the American Bar Association canons which are of most interest to the general public are those limiting litigation, those with regard to fees, and the one which defines the relations which a lawyer may sustain to his client whom he knows to be guilty.

Excessive fees are disapproved, and the rule is laid down that the client's ability to pay is no excuse for an overcharge, though poverty is a good reason for a low charge, or even no charge at all. Contracts for a contingent fee, dependent on the issues of the litigation, are looked upon with disfavor, and it is expressly stated that "the lawyer should not purchase any interest in the subject-matter of the litigation which he is conducting;" and it is further declared that in states where contingent fees are sanctioned by law, they should be under the supervision of the courts, so that the client may be protected from unjust charges. Under the laws of champerty and maintenance, contingent fees are prohibited in England, and they are also restricted in some American states. A limited observation serves to confirm Justice Sharswood's strictures on contingent fees: they promote litigation, and the practice is well termed "purchasing" a suit at law; contingent fees make a lawyer unduly interested in winning his case at all hazards; and in the end they establish a relation of higgling between the lawyer and his client. A witty Irish litigant when asked the meaning of contingent fee said: "If the case is lost, the lawyer won't get anything; if the case is won, I won't get anything." Of course we are

familiar with the defense of this practice, that it is "the poor man's fee" and that without it some cases could not be presented for trial; but this defense scarcely appeals, especially if lawyers were to live up to the spirit of section twelve of the Canon, in which there is the suggestion of small fees or free service for those in poverty. In a last analysis, the practice of conducting suits for contingent fees establishes a wrong relation between the lawyer and his client, between the case being tried and the court trying the same, and such practices will probably in the long run result in more harm than good. We can then but express the hope that lawyers will not in this particular avail themselves of the permission which the law sometimes allows them.

To a layman, the Canon seems insufficient in one particular at least, namely, in the relation which the lawyer should sustain to his client. The statement is made that "a lawyer should not do for his client what his own sense of honor would prohibit him from doing for himself." This is well, as is also the third specification in the suggested oath for admission to the practice of law earlier administered in the state of Washington and some other states, namely, "I will not counsel or maintain any suit or proceeding which shall appear to me to be unjust, nor any defense except such as I believe to be honestly debatable under the law of the land." No doubt the position taken in this part of the oath is in advance of that taken by most writers on legal ethics, as it is in advance of the practice largely

prevailing. But the Canon and the practices of the legal profession do not seem to come up to this high position.

Sharswood, in his *Professional Ethics*, held it to be proper for one to enter on the defense of a client even though he knew the client to be guilty, and he argued that such a course was not "screening the guilty from punishment," but it was to make sure that the accused had a fair trial and was convicted in accordance with the law and established precedent; but in another connection the same writer said it was in some measure the duty of the counsel to be the keeper of the conscience of his client, and he remarked on what was termed an important clause in the official oath of his time, that a lawyer should "delay no man's cause for lucre or malice," a clause which is continued as part of the oath recommended to the states by the American Bar Association.

It is obvious that the relations of a lawyer to his client should be purely professional; to society in general he owes a higher duty than to his client, which higher duty is in brief the promotion of the right. A comparison has well been made under this head with the relation of a surgeon to his patient. If a patient wishes an abortion committed and is willing to pay for the service, the surgeon has a higher duty which precludes him from doing the thing asked. The fifteenth section of the Canon, under the head, "How Far a Lawyer May Go in Supporting a Client's Cause," says in the first place: "Nothing operates more cer-

tainly to create or foster popular prejudice against lawyers as a class, and to deprive the profession of the full measure of public esteem and confidence which belongs to the proper discharge of its duties, than does the false claim often set up by the unscrupulous in defense of questionable transactions, that it is the duty of the lawyer to do whatever may enable him to succeed in winning his client's cause."

One finds difficulty in harmonizing the statement made above with the following in the same section: a lawyer "owes entire devotion to the interests of his client, warm zeal in the maintenance and defense of his cause and the exertion of the utmost skill and ability, to the end that nothing may be taken or withheld from him save by the rules of the law, legally applied." While this may not be contrary to the proceeding, it permits a course of conduct not without grave dangers. Nor does the latter part of the same section, which again declares a high ideal, viz., that the lawyer "must obey his own conscience and not that of his client," entirely remove the suggestion of the sentence above cited. Lawyers by aiming to defeat justice in aiding the guilty to escape bring their profession under the very reproach from which they seek to deliver it.

These comments are not made as strictures on what must prove a valuable document. They are urged rather to indicate if possible a higher standard of conduct. The opening statement of the committee's report is, after all, the most important one, namely, that

no code can particularize all the duties of a lawyer, and the enumeration of some duties should not be considered as denying the existence of others equally binding. In brief, the spirit of this code is the spirit of Sharwood's Ethics—"no man can be truly a great lawyer who is not in every sense of the word a good man." Now, more than in Justice Sharwood's time, are many temptations to a young lawyer, and there is grave need that there be held up the ideal, "the strictest principles of integrity and honor are his only safety."

The American Bar Association's committee urged the distribution of its report among the several state bar associations, with the thought that the adoption of the Canon by the state associations and the establishment of the suggested oath of admission to the bar by state statute would give a practical method of accomplishing the ends desired. Several states promptly complied with the suggested action. The committee further wisely recommended that instruction in professional ethics be made a part of the law-school course in preparation for admission to the bar.

The action of the American Bar Association in formulating and adopting a standard of conduct cannot fail to have a far-reaching influence on the legal profession and all related callings. The closing words of Sharwood's Ethics, the spirit of which is embodied in the Bar Association's Canon, are as a clarion call not to the legal profession alone, but to all occupations: "Let us beware, then, of raising these objects

of ambition, wealth, learning, honor and influence, worthy though they be, into an undue importance. Nor let us in the too ardent pursuit of what are only means, lose sight of the great end of our being."

VIII.

A NEW COMMERCIALISM.

IDENTITY of the ideas of fraud and of success in business is very old. The Greeks looked upon gains from trade as ignoble, and in some cases they disqualified successful merchants from holding office. With the Romans, the god of thieves was also the god of merchants, and Cicero expressed the prejudice of his time in a statement that retail trade was vile and sordid, and that it could thrive only by much lying. The German *Tauschen* for trade, and *Täuschen* for deception, show this same identity. "Business," Tallyrand remarked, "means other men's money;" and in the present times it has often been felt that it has meant also getting the blood and souls of others.

A business sentiment frequently expressed—that in placing investments a knave is to be trusted sooner than a fool—implies that business men are either of the knave or of the fool class. "I pick out a good butcher and 'stand' by him," was the explanation of a housewife whose table was always well served with meats, and so we might multiply the evidences to show the popular notion that business morality is low.

In the recent large accumulations of money there

are evidences of demoralization due to riches, and the corruption of morals. "Money hunger" has been a passion appealing to our time in many ways. Says Bishop Spaulding: "It is plain that our besetting sin, as a people, is not intemperance or unchastity, but dishonesty. From the watering and manipulating of stocks to the adulteration of food and drink, from the booming of towns and lands to the selling of votes and the buying of office, from the halls of Congress to the policeman's beat, from the capitalist who controls trusts and syndicates to the mechanic who does inferior work, the taint of dishonesty is everywhere."¹

Business under modern conditions has changed in its methods, and as President Hadley points out, evidences are not wanting that men have one standard of conduct in their private life and another in their business. Our moral ideas have not been applied to the new forms of business attending the growth of corporation management. Stockholders have sought to avoid their responsibility by leaving all to the boards of directors, who have been strictly held to show a gain in business. The morality of personal conduct has not been applied to modern corporations; as directors, men have either failed to direct, or they have done things they would denounce in their personal affairs.

The pity of this is increased by the fact that the morality of commercial life reaches out to the government and to every interest of society. Dr. H. A.

¹ *Means and Ends of Education*, 146.

Boardman, years ago, well remarked that the morals of society will become what those of its business men are, and that every community has the deepest interest in keeping its standards of commercial morality at the highest possible point. Mr. Lincoln Steffens speaks thus of his studies in American municipal governments: "My groping into the misgovernment of cities has drawn me everywhere, but always out of politics into business . . . business started the corruption of politics."

The facts above dwelt upon should be a cause of concern, as the absence of morals from daily business affairs has led to hollowness of life and the ultimate failure of many nations, and it will have the same effect upon our country unless they are corrected. The wise Catholic Bishop of Peoria asks, "Is the material progress of the nineteenth century a cradle or a grave?" Which of these it shall become depends upon the degree to which high moral purpose becomes a part of our commercial life.

Success has not attended the teaching of abstract ethics cut off from practical affairs. Problems in casuistry prove as fruitless in affecting conduct as were the theoretical speculations of the schoolmen during the Middle Ages. The moral awakening of recent years has resulted from an appeal to the concrete. This is but going back to the supreme moral Teacher of all time, who gave the rule, "Render unto Cæsar *the things* that are Cæsar's and render unto God *the things* that are God's." "Thus," says Dr. Albert

Shaw, "it is the positive and aggressive attitude toward life, the ethics of action rather than the ethics of negation, that most control the modern business world and that may make our modern business man the most potent factor for good in this, his own, industrial period." ¹

Attention needs to be directed against the too common practice of spurning commercialism and industrialism as being of low order, and therefore to be despised. These activities must continue, and the matter of supremest moment is what kind of industrialism and commercialism we shall have. As Dr. Shaw has again remarked, "If it is not possible to promote things ideally good through these very forces of commercial and industrial life, then the outlook is a gloomy one."

But one who carefully notes the tendencies of our time cannot but feel that within recent years there are evidenced hopeful signs in changing standards of business success. Wealth is now being classified as legitimate and predatory, and the latter far from being, as once the case, a ground for distinction, brings discredit to its possessors. Time was when money was regarded as simply quantitative; now it has come to be qualitative as well; nor are we so prone as formerly to forget the antecedents of wealth. The descendants of the predatory rich who in "gilded idleness" become the drones of society, are likely more and more to have

¹ *The Business Career.*

visited on them the disapproval of public opinion, both for their idleness and for the sins of their fathers.

We should rejoice that this is so; and also that fewer commercial crimes escape punishment; that adulteration of drugs, medicines, foods, etc., is guarded against; that frauds in railroads, coal, oil, packing, insurance and other corporations are exposed; that there is a higher moral tone in business; that commerce and industry are coming to be regarded as necessary and worthy callings; and finally, that there is at present a genuine desire to create a new and higher commercialism. But there is need for repeated emphasis of right standards of conduct in commercial life.

Observation confirms the statement that many young men go into business with the feeling that their profits will come from some sort of sharp practice, the getting of an advantage in some underhand way. At the same time the successful and experienced men who have been long in business are settled in their conviction that only absolutely square dealing pays.

Evidences of the latter statement are numerous. Mr. E. L. Scott, of Sears, Roebuck & Co., recently stated what in his judgment business men would prefer as qualities in those who come as their young helpers. Of these he specified four, namely, character, health, ability and knowledge, and in order to satisfy himself of the correctness of his statement he made up what he termed an inventory sheet of the traits of a large number of men in important positions. Under the head of character he enumerated morality, temperance, indus-

try, capacity for work, ambition, loyalty, obedience, judgment, self-control, sympathy, courtesy, cheerfulness, patience, perseverance, courage, enthusiasm and will-power, all of which were variously exemplified and were deemed important in winning success.

The late Baron Rothschild, who sought to be of service in directing young men, made a statement of sixteen rules which he had printed on cards and distributed to those whom he could influence. Among his rules were such as these: shun liquor; be polite to everybody; never tell business lies; maintain your integrity as a sacred thing; and never appear to be more than you are. Many others who write out of rich experience and with mature conviction agree in the same general conclusion that the man who violates his moral conviction in business does what the athlete would do if he cut his sinews at the wrist.

All this, it must needs be emphasized, is contrary to the too popular illusion that riches and honor are exclusive, that business men are required to select between wealth and a good name. A young man lately expressed his conviction that in these days it is necessary to be a "specialist," that it is "no use trying to be a good churchman and a good business man." One lately voiced the same sentiment in a statement that he would not allow religion and business to interfere with each other. We are too prone to think that if a man is rich he must be a trickster or a villain and that there is virtue in poverty. But this is not a correct deduction from the great Book of moral teaching, nor

is it in accordance with a fair observation of the world. In the book of Proverbs we read that the rewards of humility and the fear of Jehovah are riches, honor and long life; and in the same connection that thorns and snares are in the way of the perverse.

Evidence is very clear that a good name is a necessity for sound business success. Among certain of the Indian tribes of North America a name was vested with high privilege and the right of bestowing it was enjoyed by the one to whom it belonged. "Under such circumstances," writes Professor Farrand, "the name becomes true property and the regard for it is much more than a matter of sentiment." In one tribe a man who was not able to meet his financial obligations was privileged to pawn his name at a rate of interest termed excessive, and during the term in which the name was in pawn its original holder was not permitted to use it in any way, and his social position was lowered. The name became the property of the holder, and his position was raised by the rank or worth of the name which had been pawned to him.¹

Something very like the above exists in business. The commercial world recognizes what is known as good-will. Succeeding businesses have long been conducted on established reputations, and from these reputations fortunes are often made; on the other hand, a bad reputation has in business the greatest of disadvantages. We all have feelings of confidence in

¹ Farrand, *Basis of American History*, 202, 203.

the goods purchased from one dealer, and distrust for those secured from another, and we often pay considerably more for articles from a particular establishment, lest we be tricked by other dealers who may offer what are actually the same goods or better for less money. This is but paying for the good name which a commercial establishment has earned. Nor do we object to such a proceeding. We want to have full confidence in those with whom we have dealings, and we are quite ready to pay for that confidence.

Though a good name may not be carried on the books of an establishment as a resource, the business man knows that this is a real commodity which can often be disposed of to advantage. Customers are not fools. If tricked once they are likely to go elsewhere, and thus they cease to be customers, and the business man who drives them away is the loser. Knavery cannot be permanently successful. Those who engage in business become shrewd students of human nature; they early learn to scent danger, and draw inference with regard to character.

Poor Richard declared, "Creditors have a better memory than debtors," and, similarly, the world is ready to remember an irregularity in business and to treasure it against the one who practices it. The words *defaulter* and *bankrupt* follow, to his future hurt, the one who has been through these experiences. Indeed, a bad reputation in business is often too great a handicap to be overcome. What is true of the general reputation of a commercial house holds with re-

gard to staple articles, and the purpose of the trademark, the reputation of which is so zealously guarded, is to serve as a guarantee for the goods on which it is placed.

In the famous Black Friday panic of 1873 banks and business houses were everywhere closing their doors. The old and highly respected house of H. B. Claflin & Co., of New York, was found to be involved for more than twenty-five millions of dollars, and ruin was imminent. The head of the firm made a frank statement to his creditors and asked for a five months' extension of time. Knowing their man, the creditors granted the request, and inside of two months the firm was able to pay its obligations in full. Of the head of that firm, in the general wreck of fortunes, a recent writer has said that "his personal character stood like a tower."

Banking and credit operations as well as general merchandizing show the importance of fair dealing. The modern banking system and the general use of credit rest upon the assumption that men are honest, and banks are well defined as institutions that deal in credits. Indeed, so largely do we employ credit in modern trade that it is everywhere regarded as a commodity and men reckon on it in all plans of merchandizing. Business men know that they cannot do business without meeting their obligations. Mr. David R. Forgan declares that the thing of first importance, which business men wish their employees to know, is that integrity of character is the greatest power of the

business world. "The life of modern commerce," he affirms, "is not gold, but credit, and quite ninety per cent of all business is now conducted on a credit basis."

The modern credit system is complex, but creditmen agree that the most determining data which enter into the reaching of a decision in a doubtful case are those with regard to the character of the person asking credit. The modern building and loan association, which has had phenomenal success as a commercial institution, has, to a considerable extent, made the good name of its members an element in its operations.

Upright dealing is profitable, not only to the one practicing it, but it is of advantage to the society in which it is practiced. Failures of banks, corporations, private firms and individuals, with their damaging consequences, can only be avoided by cultivating a popular ideal of strict integrity, for in the end honesty alone can prevent fraud.

Taking a broader view, we should see in business a social service, the giving of something for something. This is more true than is generally recognized, even by those who are engaged in business. Some years ago the writer was engaged in leading a class of about twenty business men, when the question of the motives for work came up; and several of the men stoutly maintained that their sole motive was to make money, and to enjoy the things that money could buy; but on discussion and after having the suggestion of chances to make more money in disreputable lines of business that would injure their fellows, these men promptly changed their statement of motive.

In business the motto too often has been, as pointed out by Professor Jenks in a presidential address before the American Economic Association, "to get the greatest possible reward for self in return for the least service." Governor Hughes, with rare insight, says that there is no greater evil at present than the desire to get something for nothing; in brief, "to get rich without earning the money." We shall all be ready to agree with Patterson DuBois that the creation of a sentiment of contempt for getting something for nothing would be a great gain. Professor Jenks would make the motto for business, "The largest service possible for a just reward." Another presidential address before the same Association, by Professor Taussig, calls attention to the changing tendencies in the following language: "The worship of wealth is diminishing and the respect for public service is increasing. . . . The fundamental virtues are not lacking. We may hope for greater repression of the selfish motives and the sordid activities."

There would be a great gain from the growth of the notion that business is the supplying of human needs—the furnishing of the food, clothing and shelter which make existence endurable and enjoyable. Business is not primarily the making of profits. Of course the laborer is worthy of his hire. If service is rendered, profits have been earned and should be enjoyed; but in the last analysis *service* should be the strongest motive appealing to the business man.

The early and false theory of international trade

was that nations were natural enemies, and that each was either giving or taking advantage. It was believed that if one nation was the gainer in a transaction, this was at the expense of some other; but in 1776 Adam Smith declared a new economic policy, which was, in brief, that nations are mutually dependent, and that by the exchange of the services and the surplus products of one region for the services and surplus products of a different region there would be a gain in both ways. Thus foreign commerce became a process of giving "value to superfluities." By slow degrees we are coming to see that commercial exchanges within a given country also are more than the taking or giving of advantage, and that gains are not necessarily secured at the expense of some one else.

Business is no exception to the law that men are to do justice and love mercy, and the second part of the injunction is not less important than the first. Keeping out of the clutches of the law is not enough. The world is such that business cannot thrive with the penal code substituted for the moral order. A conviction of usefulness should be the business man's spring of action, and his richest recompense. Business should be followed for its own sake. If a given business is not one of the ways of making the world better and happier it may well be forsaken. It is unfortunate indeed that any occupation should be pursued for money-getting alone. One who has made wide observation on the conduct of saloonkeepers from New York to Denver recently writes of them that their business has

converted them into a type of man different from the trades people among whom they live. Saloonkeepers become "hard," "tough," "sneering," and "unsympathetic;" the so-called good-fellowship of saloons, it is said, is all on the surface and lasts only so long as there is prospect of a money return.¹

Dean Swift long ago indicated the Almighty's low regard for mere riches by pointing out the kind of people on whom they are so often bestowed.

Business for gain only dwarfs men and unfits them for living. With the passing of years their love of gain will develop into avarice, which poisons the soul. Those who seek only the gains of business life have sometimes made money and retired, when they have become of all men the most miserable. He who selfishly pursues gains, is denied true pleasure both in their pursuit and, if he is successful in his quest, in the subsequent possession of the thing obtained.

Not only can there be cultivated a more correct notion as to the ends which business should seek to serve, but there can also be a much stronger sense of disapproval shown to those who pander to lower motives. Some one has well said that we need a standard of conduct by which a man will be branded a thief whether he steals a dollar, a hundred dollars or a million dollars, and whether he steals it as a person or by the agency of a corporation. •

In olden times, rogues, fraudulent bankrupts, and

¹ "What I Know About Saloons," *The Independent*, September 8, 1908.

the like, were put into the pillory provided for rascals, where often they were pelted with missiles. This treatment cannot be visited upon wrongdoers in our day, but they can in effect be made to suffer the condemnation of public opinion, and the punishment inflicted by public opinion may prove more efficacious than the punishment of law. In a recent agitation for municipal reform the influence that was of much effect was the attitude of the children in the schools toward the children of the offenders, and certain members of the city government felt, when their children came home with such inquiries as, "Is father a bad man?" "Why will not the children at school play with me any more?" "What has my father been doing?" the time had come to change their course of conduct.

We have many evidences of the application of the old moral order to this newer economic age. An American lately refused to sell his name to an insurance company for a handsome salary and no duties, and very promptly declared that he could not consent to receive pay for services which he did not render. One well known recently departed this life with the rewards of long service and a good name, and he found in business to the very last an opportunity for practicing righteousness and a means of enriching the lives of his fellowmen. To a youth entering business he gave this high sentiment, which those who knew him would testify he made the standard of his own life:

Let thy high manhood sacred be,
Then lift thy calling up to thee.
Be true thyself and thou shalt find,
An answering echo in thy kind.
Keep thou thy faith with men, and see
How men will keep their faith with thee.¹

The United States needs much emphasis of the old-fashioned Ten Commandment morality and an application of this to every-day affairs. As suggested by Governor (now Justice) Hughes, we are too prone to think that it is good Americanism to be "slick"; that business success is dependent on deception; and that political preferment follows manipulation and intrigues. Hughes, whose career in a remarkable way is characterized by uncompromising honesty, makes the following call for the new-old commercialism:

Don't follow the man who thinks it is American to be 'slick.' There may be many illustrations that will occur to you of cases of successful sharpness, but they are so exceptional as to prove the rule. The old way, the steady way, is the right way. Put a little more in the measure than you need to, give a good basketful of fruit, and don't simply have a little display on top of superficial attention and industry. Give a little more work than you are asked to give. That is the history of success in America. That is a lesson to boys, full measure, honorable effort, happiness and contentment which only come to one who has the pride of being equal to his job.

¹ Henry S. Kent.

Moral ideas in last analysis determine the strength and perpetuity of the social order. One law cannot be meted out to the individual and another to the firm and corporation. A new commercialism should regard business as a legitimate public service, not an act of plunder. As a public service, it is entitled to its rewards, but it is not exempt from the operation of the Ten Commandments. A new commercialism should give us business men who put emphasis on duty, and who magnify the honor and privilege of their own calling.

God give us men. A time like this demands
Men whom the lust of office cannot kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie.

The school, the pulpit, the press, and all other agencies that aid in fashioning public opinion should disseminate the doctrine that *it pays to be honest*. It goes without saying that this is not the sole, nor the highest motive for practicing honesty; but we need to revise our standard. Honesty pays in life's asset of satisfaction; it pays in substantial permanent gain which is above any ephemeral success based on trickery. Mr. Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, gives a striking confirmation of the truth here urged in a statement that the virtue of veracity has had its highest development among the commercial nations.

Business men will be safer in their own lives, and more useful as members of society, with standards of

conduct clearly defined, with issues drawn and conclusions reached. No doubt most of the too common commercial irregularity began accidentally, or impulsively, and it is followed from wrong motives and without full regard for the consequences. Somehow a higher standard of conduct should be set before those now in commercial life, and made a part of the training of those who are to enter business as a life calling. There are many ways in which these ends may be reached.

IX.

SUPERVISION OF HIGH SCHOOLS.

HIGH SCHOOLS supported at public expense came relatively late in our systems of public education, and even yet policies for their support and management are halting and uncertain. There is a widening conviction of the wisdom of direct state aid to high schools and at least one serious and well-conceived attempt to extend such aid from the federal government. New phases of secondary education, and new perils to public high schools, are presented by the recent pronounced interest in technical education. The time is opportune for an examination of recent experience with high schools; and also to indicate some apparent features of a safe policy for them in the future.

High schools are, in the broadest sense, community institutions, "people's colleges," or finishing schools for a large proportion of those who have any higher education at all. High schools need a breadth of view in policy, and a liberality of support, that cannot be expected from the local communities. In order that they may have the largest usefulness, the state should furnish matured plans for high schools, and it should show also how these plans can be carried out. One

very obvious way the state can aid these schools is by financial support extended through an authoritative department of supervision.

A neglect of high schools means ultimate weakening of elementary education, a certain low standard in civic affairs, and inevitably the poor equipment of a people for the economic and industrial contests of the modern competitive system. That state will have the largest success which gives its people the fullest development of their native faculties, and the highest skill. States which have enjoyed marked advantages from their geographical position and native riches will find that these conditions alone count for relatively less and less as advantages.

If a place in the field of material activity is to be acquired or maintained, a state must give to her people a constantly increasing educational equipment. To make natural riches effective, men must be trained to use them. From every consideration, increased and improved facilities for high school education seem imperative.

We should not accept any such miserable alternative as that between elementary schools and high schools. Rather let us accept nothing less than elementary schools amply provided and equipped, together with high schools broadly conceived and liberally supported, free and within easy reach of every home, furnished not as a dole, not apologetically or grudgingly, but as the inherent right of every boy or girl born into an American commonwealth.

High schools as distinct institutions, and supervision over high schools as a distinct educational function, have already demonstrated their worth as an aid to elementary schools. In New Jersey the state supervision over high schools has required that eight years of approved work in graded schools or its equivalent must precede high school education, and the report of the State Superintendent of Public Education is that high school inspection has been of invaluable service to the work of the grades. Similar reports from Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York and other states fully establish that a more efficient high school education is a means by which to improve elementary education.

American states need some form of propaganda on high school education. The need is evident of taking to the people a message on the purposes of high schools, and both encouragement and instruction in their establishment and improvement. The schools of a given state should be rendered more uniform through standardizing and grading. High schools are widely different within many states and the poorer can be raised more nearly to the level of the better. Similarly, there can be the leveling-up of schools in different states as is now being undertaken between New York and New Jersey. But all this means new legislation, with increased state support and closer and more intelligent supervision.

In the inspections of high schools in recent years we note four distinct forms of agency, operating at different times and places, and in different ways. These

are: (1) The inspection of colleges and universities, without legislative authority or the distribution of any funds; (2) the inspection by private associations of institutions usually including both colleges and schools; (3) the inspection by some board created or authorized by legislation; and (4) the inspection by state boards of education or departments of public instruction either directly or acting through an agent or deputy.

As in the Middle-West state-supported education has had its highest development, so from the Middle-West do we gain the most useful lessons on the supervision over high schools. The first form of inspective agency should be termed *institutional*. This was begun by the University of Michigan in 1872 and has been practised by the University of Wisconsin for nearly or quite twenty years and by the University of Illinois for a dozen years. It has been adopted by the Universities of Iowa, Nebraska, California, and some other institutions also. This form of inspection has been used chiefly by the state universities, but it has also been resorted to by certain private institutions, the most notable example of which is the University of Chicago. Private institutions have, however, usually been content to say that they will receive students from any school which is approved by state universities.

Institutional inspection as just described is entirely voluntary, and indeed only upon request on the part of a school. The purpose of such inspection is to

accredit the schools for sending pupils to the higher institutions without examinations. At first the inspection was by a committee of the faculty. The early practice in most institutions was to have a school approved for given subjects by the department of instruction in the higher institutions, and the certificates were for single subjects rather than for the school as a whole. The late United States Commissioner of Education, after observation of this form of inspection at the University of California, well says that there is a decided gain to the school from having university specialists regularly visit it. There was also an early proposal to resort to a form of examination at the University of Michigan, but this proved too cumbersome and was given up. Committees of the faculty soon found that the duties of inspection were too burdensome and they employed an agent, reserving to themselves the right to pass upon his recommendations. Thus the tendency of inspection by institutions has been to have a single inspector, and to have the school approved or rejected as a whole.

While the purpose of this form of inspection is to make the schools feeders to the universities, the effects upon the schools themselves are worthy of note. The testimony where it has been tried is that the standards of the schools have been raised, in some cases a year and in others even more. Weak schools are sometimes carried on what is called a "nursing list," and are encouraged and improved in the hope that they may come up to the standard. The inspectors make

addresses on educational subjects to the communities they visit, and after such visits they report to the principals, superintendents, and school boards, pointing out deficiencies in the schools and suggesting ways in which the deficiencies can be remedied.¹ Not the least of the services from such inspectors is the improvement of the teachers. Usually the inspectors are connected with the departments of education of their universities, and not infrequently they give instruction in the summer schools which are conducted by these universities. Thus there is a direct appeal to teachers to improve their professional equipment.

It should be pointed out, however, that the poorer and weaker schools which most need supervision are likely to be entirely ignored by this system, and further, that while, as President Eliot has said, "an occasional friendly visit" by a college representative clearly is of service to the school, "such visits may be so infrequent and so indefinite as to lead to no important results." While recognizing the value of this voluntary institutional inspection of high schools, we are compelled to say that it is but a beginning in a process and not the highest or best form of supervision over high schools.

¹ Prof. A. S. Whitney, who has been actively connected with the work of inspecting and accrediting high schools at the University of Michigan, writes: "Volumes might be written giving specific accounts of the opinion of the Inspector on the local high school. So much so that our correspondence with the superintendents seeking the aid of the high school inspector in influencing his board of education to take advanced steps along educational lines is extensive."

The second of the agencies above mentioned for standardizing and improving high schools is voluntary associations either of higher institutions or of higher institutions and secondary schools jointly. This form of inspection is the application of the coöperative principle among institutions, and is extended throughout a region or a section rather than being limited to a single state. The two most notable instances of this inspection are that of the New England College Entrance Certificate Board and that of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

The New England Board began about 1885 to provide uniform examinations for admission to college in the cases where the requirements were similar. Out of this there came a demand for uniform certificates for college admission and from the latter the practice of approving the schools as a whole. The institutions that received students on certificate finally reached an agreement that a Central Board should be established and that certificates would be recognized only from schools that this Board approved. This Board has carried forward its supervision since 1904; it has worked by correspondence, by inspection of curricula, by securing of careful reports from the schools and by occasional visits of representatives of the Board; but most largely the Board acts from reports of the colleges on the standing of pupils sent from schools wishing to be accredited, or which have been accredited. The president of this New England Board said that reports show that only one-third as many schools send-

ing students on certificate are unsatisfactory now as there were before the Board began its supervision. He is very clear on the facts presented that the schools have been improved, increased value given to the certificates, and a closer articulation established between schools and colleges.¹

The North Central Association of Schools and Colleges was organized in 1895 to secure coöperation and to promote harmonious relations between the types of institutions that make up its membership. Growing out of this purpose a Commission on Accredited Schools was provided for in 1901, and to this Commission was assigned the duty of defining and describing standards for college admission, formulating a statement of approved preparation for high school teachers, recommending equipment for high schools, and finally providing for a Board of Inspectors who shall inquire into the conditions in the schools and make up an accredited list. These inspectors meet in Chicago two or three days before the meeting of the North Central Association. At this meeting they compare their observations and revise the list of accredited schools. Their report is made to the Commission and the Commission reports to the Association. The report is printed for circulation and it is distributed on or before April first annually.

The Commission on Accredited Schools has defined

¹ Professor John K. Lord, of Dartmouth, before the Middle States and Maryland Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, 1907.

carefully the conditions on which schools will be accredited, and it has rendered service in suggesting laboratory and library equipment, plans of instruction, etc. It provides that no high school will be approved that does not have at least five teachers exclusive of the superintendent; it fixes the maximum of pupils per teacher as thirty, and requires excellence of intellectual and moral "tone" in a school as a condition of its being approved.

The Commission of the North Central Association publishes a list of approved schools in at least a dozen states, from Ohio to Colorado. The activity of this Commission marks a tendency away from independent inspection by a single institution, and this form of supervision clearly seems more desirable than that of higher institutions acting on their own responsibility, but this inspection still leaves something to be desired. The Association is too far removed from the schools and with too little opportunity to aid them. The Commission recognizes its difficulties and seeks to minimize them, by providing that reports shall be made through an inspector appointed by a state university or an inspector appointed by state authority; and thus there is evidenced the need of other agencies to operate in connection with this Association.

The third form of agency already tried is the inspection by some legally established board or its representatives. This is well illustrated in Indiana and Minnesota. In Indiana the inspection is by a board consisting of the State Superintendent of Public In-

struction, the President of the State University, the President of the State Normal School, and certain superintendents and principals of schools in various parts of the State. This Board, by division of high schools among its members, inspects the schools of the State and prepares an accredited list giving the privilege of certificate for college admission.

Taken altogether, Minnesota has made marked progress in improving the high schools of the State. In Minnesota there is a State High School Board consisting of five members—the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the President of the State University, the President of the Normal School Board, and two other persons appointed by the Governor. This Board elects a State Inspector or Superintendent over high schools and his office is supported by special appropriation. His reports on high schools are recognized by the University of Minnesota and other institutions in granting the certificate privilege for college admission. Thus the Inspector, while not an officer of the University, is appointed by a Board on which the University is represented, and the University seems entirely satisfied to accept students on his report.

To give further stimulus to high school education in Minnesota there is awarded from the state treasury a yearly grant not to exceed \$1,500 to schools that are approved by the inspector. In 1907 there was an additional grant making the total above \$2,000 for each school. In 1908 the amount awarded was \$1,500, but immediately following this the Minnesota Legislature

increased the aid to \$1,750 for all accredited schools. The High School Inspector for Minnesota says that the Board of which he is the agent has three forms of aid operating together—inspection, financial support, and examinations. The inspector is in a purely advisory capacity, but the financial aid is made to depend on the conditions found by the inspector. The examinations are optional, and are meant to be merely suggestive and directive. Both the Inspector of High Schools and the State Superintendent of Minnesota say that these optional examinations have been of marked service in improving the poorer schools.

A State Superintendent of Minnesota thus summarized the results of state supervision and direct state aid: "The high and graded school inspectors have rendered the state valuable service not only in guarding the distribution of the aid, but in creating a stronger school sentiment, making helpful suggestions to superintendents and teachers and in encouraging and stimulating school officers. Seeing the best equipment, management and instruction, these officials are in a position to offer officers and teachers the benefit of criticism, timely, restraining, and suggestive. Vested with state authority, they often give progressive superintendents, teachers and school officers needed moral support in communities where a too conservative opinion prevails. State inspection has been a directing force in the more judicious and economical expenditure of public funds for the construction of school-houses, in the employment of trained and competent

superintendents and teachers, in the efforts toward the unification of the courses of study, and the establishment of a more permanent policy in educational movements, which, if left unguided, will result in more or less misspent energy.

“Under our system each high school and graded school of Minnesota has been left free to work out its own plans, while, at the same time, we have in the entire scheme such unity and harmony and definite standard of efficiency as would not have been possible without this unifying and directing influence. And are not the teachers and officers of the county even more in need of criticism, advice and moral support of able inspectors than are those in towns and cities, with their greater wealth and culture, and their greater opportunities and facilities?”¹

One obvious service to the high schools of Minnesota, and to any school that comes into the possession of them, is that rendered by annual reports of George B. Aiton as Inspector of High Schools. Every phase of the building problem—ventilation, equipment, laboratories, libraries, text-books and teachers—these and many other subjects have been examined and sane conclusions reached. That communities realize so little from their money in school buildings and school service is due largely to inexperience or ignorance. Those having to do with local schools need to be given direction by one who has a broader outlook, and it is

¹ Annual Report, 1907, pp. 9, 10.

in the giving of this direction that a state inspector of high schools can be of great service.¹

The most recent trend in the outside supervision over high schools is by state departments of education, or superintendents of public instruction, usually through deputies or agents. At least eight states are now carrying forward this form of supervision, and in most cases it is attended by the distribution of money from the state treasuries.

In Massachusetts each town is required to provide free high-school education for each child who wishes it. Every town of five hundred families must furnish a high school with a four-year course and keep this school open for at least forty weeks in a year. A town of less than five hundred inhabitants may maintain a school of its own, or provide for the tuition of its pupils and their transportation to some other school. The experiment of having students transported to other schools at public expense has likely been given its best trial in Massachusetts, but with results that do not seem conclusive as to the desirability of this method of fostering high school education. The smaller towns maintaining an approved high school are reimbursed by the state to the amount of \$500. If they do not

¹ The influence of the Minnesota Plan is far-reaching. Prof. Whitney, of the University of Michigan, writes: "A bill has already been prepared for introduction into our legislature to correct this defect [i. e., of not reaching the poorer schools], by the adoption of a plan somewhat similar to the one now in operation in Minnesota. Should the proposed bill be passed we believe the system will be very much improved."

maintain a school they are reimbursed for the tuition money paid out. In 1910 there were paid to the small towns of Massachusetts under these two heads \$65,-009.03.

But in order to receive state aid Massachusetts high schools must be approved by an agent of the State Board who is in the field exercising the functions of an inspector. The same agent approves high schools for the privilege of certificating their pupils to the state normal schools.

New York has long had close supervision over high schools through the Regents' inspection and examinations. The legislation that consolidated the Regent system and the State Department of Education in New York in no particular relinquished control over high schools. Indeed the tendency was in the other direction. The number of inspectors was increased, and state aid has been extended munificently in New York. In 1907 the State of New York gave to her high schools in direct grants approximately \$550,000. This amount has been materially increased in later years. Much has been done to remove the mechanical and depressing effects of the old Regents' system. No doubt, examinations in New York, as in Minnesota, are a stimulus to the weaker schools, but the grave danger is that they will become a fetich. The establishment in 1906 of an examination board through which there is appointed a series of committees to prepare question papers is a decided forward step, but if one from outside the State might venture a comment on the New

York plan of supervision it would be that it seems desirable to escape still further from the evils of the old Regents' system by bringing about greater flexibility through a larger recognition of the optional principle in taking examinations.¹

New Jersey has recently begun a close state supervision over her high schools. A special appropriation was secured with the power to administer it left to the State Board of Education. A High School Inspector has been appointed and is at work under the direction of the State Board. In this State, as in Pennsylvania and Louisiana, which also have lately inaugurated state inspection of high schools, the function is discharged by exercise of general powers and is not due to special legislation.

In New Jersey schools apply to be registered, and after they are visited by the Inspector they are reported to the State Board of Education for such action as the Board may care to take. High schools of a required standard and with a four-year course are termed "approved"; high schools with a one-year, two-year or three-year course, and meeting a fixed standard, are recognized as "partial." For each teacher employed exclusively in an approved high

¹ The Second Commissioner of Education in New York writes (1911) as follows: "In my opinion we have now practically escaped from the evils of the examination system while still retaining the benefits. As you will see, the whole thing is optional. No student is required to pass Regents examinations in order to graduate from a high school unless local school authorities wish to make that the rule. The option with the local authorities is unlimited."

school there is awarded from the state treasury four hundred dollars, and for each teacher giving full time to instruction in a partial high school with a three-year course there is similarly allowed three hundred dollars. In 1911 there were in New Jersey 114 approved four-year high schools and 50 partial high schools.

The Inspector of High Schools in New Jersey makes it a rule to meet with boards of education and teachers in regular and special sessions and to advise with them and make suggestions on various aspects of high school work. Not the least of the services of the Inspector is his supervision over the preparation of plans of study and outlines for particular subjects. In these activities the Inspector coöperates with the high school teachers of the State in a voluntary and non-official capacity.

With regard to the nondescript character of her high schools there was in the state of Missouri a few years ago a condition not unlike that in many other states, and to bring some sort of order into the high school system the State Superintendent was given authority to grade all public high schools, designating them as of the first, second, and third class. This authority was extended with the proviso that no school was to be in the first class that did not employ the full time of three teachers in high school work and give what was termed "standard" instruction during nine months of the year for four years, in English, mathematics, science and history. Schools of the second class were to be similarly conducted for three

years with the full time of two approved teachers, and were to give instructions in accordance with the conditions fixed for schools of the first class. Schools of the third class were required to give two years of satisfactory instruction in the subjects above named for at least eight months of the year and to require the full time of one approved teacher in high school work.

The foregoing provisions were to be carried out by the State Superintendent of Education in Missouri who might exercise the function of inspection himself or delegate it to a deputy. The law requires that the State Superintendent publish from time to time lists of classified schools. To give further effect to inspection in Missouri, the Superintendent is given full authority to drop a school in its classification if the required standard and quality of work are not maintained.

The State Superintendent of Missouri reported early in 1908 that he had not been able satisfactorily to carry out the law of 1903 because of lack of assistants, but further that the Legislature of 1907 had made a sufficient appropriation to employ two deputies for school supervision, one for high schools and one for rural schools, and that these were to be secured at once and put into the field as inspectors. But even as administered the state law in Missouri had had a helpful influence. The State Superintendent reported that the number graduating from high schools had doubled in four years and the number enrolled had trebled in ten years. It was the expressed intention of the

educational authorities in Missouri to give full effect to the act of 1903 in furnishing an efficient system of high schools for the state; but in Missouri there is a clear recognition of the weakness of any plan that does not include direct state aid to the high schools from the state, and an agitation looking to such aid has been carried on for several years. A bill for extending direct state aid was before the Legislature in 1911, and seemed reasonably certain of being enacted into a law.

In Wisconsin the State Superintendent chooses an Inspector of High Schools, and the Inspector works under the direction of the State Superintendent. The State Department of Education prepares suggestive courses of study and approves all such courses prepared by others. The qualifications of teachers are determined by this department. In Wisconsin, local communities which support a high school in accordance with the state requirements are given aid by the state as follows: Schools expending above \$1,000 a year for instruction receive an amount not exceeding \$500, and the schools expending less than \$1,000 for instruction receive from the state *pro rata* one-half of the amount expended. In cases where town high schools or union high schools are maintained, schools having two teachers may receive one-half the sum paid for instruction but not to exceed \$900 annually; so with three teachers, but not to exceed \$1,200; and correspondingly with four or more teachers one-half of the sum expended for instruction purposes, but not to exceed \$1,500.

Reports on inspection of high schools in Wisconsin are made to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and to the University, but the University sends out its own inspectors to make up a list of accredited schools. There has been some slight friction in Wisconsin between the inspectors of the State Department and the University, and a growing demand on the part of those who would expand and perfect the state inspection that the University should take on trial at least all the graduates of accredited four-year state-supported high schools, and later drop those students who could not meet the requirements of advanced work. This is the present practice when pupils of accredited schools do not meet the requirements of the University. The suggestion here made has greater validity when one remembers that the Middle-West universities are a part of the public education systems of their states.

The duties of a state inspector of high schools, if well performed, might relieve the higher institutions of the necessity of sending out their inspectors; but from the standpoint of the higher institutions one can see that they may properly wish some control over these schools which send students to them.

Pennsylvania is one of the latest states to take a distinctively forward step in supervising her high schools. By the legislation of 1895 provision was made for a gradation of the high schools into first class, second class, and third class, and providing a standard curriculum and general requirements for the schools of

each grade. At first a slender state appropriation of \$25,000 a year was extended to township high schools. The plan of distribution has been to allow \$400 to a school of the third grade, \$600 to one of the second and \$800 to one of the first; and in the event that there was not an amount sufficient to allow these sums, to distribute the sum available among the schools *pro-rata*. This appropriation was found to work well, and it was gradually increased until, in 1907, \$275,000 was set aside for the township schools for two years and a like amount for borough schools. This appropriation thus provided for 1908 and 1909 \$275,000 annually to the high schools of townships and boroughs. The legislation of 1909 continued for the next two years the amounts just mentioned, and coupled with the appropriation an act for the better grading of high schools.

With the distribution of this increased appropriation in Pennsylvania there was the necessity for a closer supervision over high schools, and the Legislature of 1907 also passed an act appropriating money for two high-school inspectors. These inspectors were appointed as deputies in the Department of Public Instruction, and although they have been in service but a few years they have been welcomed by the best school interests of the State. One of the Pennsylvania inspectors writing from the field said: "Many of the schools already receiving appropriation do not have teachers that fully satisfy the requirements of the law of 1895, and the equipment is often very meagre. We

will doubtless have to publish a circular that will suggest some suitable lists of apparatus, also a somewhat detailed course in English, and further define what constitutes a year's work in several of the other subjects in the suggested course."

The other Pennsylvania inspector, after some months in the field, wrote his impressions: Recitations are too short; instruction lacks in thoroughness and definiteness; there are unbalanced courses of study, with the need of a syllabus to state the minimum requirement in each subject; and a need for a more definite standard of admission to high schools. Immediately following these statements the Pennsylvania inspectors issued a Manual which cannot fail to be of great value.

Certain conclusions are pointed by the foregoing pages. Direct financial aid to high schools is much to be desired, and it is the most effective means of extending the influence of state supervision. Under competent direction a grant from the state treasury may be made to secure increased local appropriation.

The operation of federal appropriations to agricultural and mechanical colleges in the ten years from 1896 to 1906 is significant. The moderate grants from the general government have led to increases in a much greater ratio by the states. In 1896 these institutions the country over received from the federal treasury twenty-nine per cent of their funds; in 1906 they received but fifteen and four-tenths per cent. In 1896 twenty-five of the agricultural and mechanical colleges received more than one-half of their support from the

general government; in 1906 only fifteen so received a corresponding amount.

The grant of more than half a million from the state treasury in New York in 1907 was accompanied by the expenditure for secondary schools of above eight millions in the state at large. Many communities are too small or too poor to tax themselves sufficiently for the support of satisfactory high schools, and yet these communities should have high schools. It is manifestly the duty of the wealthier communities to aid the poorer for the welfare of the state.

And there is another phase of this question. Human nature is such that many communities which would not levy taxes directly for a high school will pay money into the treasury of the state and draw it back as a bonus. Particularly is a grant from the state treasury defensible when it is made to depend on the contribution by the local community of an amount equal at least to the amount of the state grant. Thus local interest is retained, and the community is saved from parsimony. Aid from the state should be as a stimulus, and not as a means of pauperizing.

The power to withhold state aid can be made a most effective method of accomplishing reforms in the schools. This is illustrated in every state where such aid has been tried. Inspectors of high schools in states where grants are extended say that they would be impotent to effect results without it. Inspectors where such aid is not granted clearly recognize its desirability.

A standardizing of the high schools through competent state supervision will go far towards settling once and for all the threadbare question of college admission. Germany has for us a significant lesson under this head. There, a leaving certificate is an ample guarantee of the fitness of the one possessing it to continue his studies at higher institutions, but Germany has liberal government aid and close supervision, the latter extended both to public and private schools. If schools with us were what their names signify, higher institutions could take their graduates without further question. State inspection should have the power to make a school and the name it uses correspond.

An inspector of high schools should not be simply an amiable gentleman, who goes about " patting people on their backs ", fearful lest he " make a ripple or leave a wake ". He should be able to say and do even unpleasant things in kindness and helpfulness. The dignity of his office makes it possible for the high school inspector to strengthen and elevate the educational sentiment of the communities to which he goes. He can stimulate and direct the less competent teachers, principals and superintendents, and can back up and render more efficient the better teachers, principals and superintendents. The inspector can also give valuable aid in suggestions for the construction and equipment of buildings, the outlining of courses of study, and the preparation of plans of instruction, the selection of text-books, reference libraries, and in

many other ways. In brief, whenever tried, state inspection of high schools has returned many fold its cost in economies and improved conditions. The movement has just begun, but it is safe to predict that an enlargement and perfection of state supervision over high schools will be an important educational development of the next decade.

X.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

AMONG our Aryan forefathers the means of subsistence were owned by the tribe, and they were given to an individual only so long as he could render service. If one were no longer able to make his contribution to the common store he was either denied food and left to starve, or he was put to death, to save a worse fate. With certain other primitive tribes the one no longer able to care for himself was brought before the council and adjudged as ready for death, after which he is said to have cheerfully submitted to execution as a part of the law of life. Later in their history the Romans learned the worth of their elders in council and they nurtured and protected their old men, but even in Rome there was the survival of an earlier custom of sacrificing the aged as evidenced in the ceremony of the *argei* and by the term *senes depontani* signifying the sacrifice of the aged, which was offered as a tribute to the river god.¹ Certain Northern tribes are reputed still to expose those too feeble to hunt or labor to die of cold and starvation.

¹ Ihering, *Evolution of the Aryan*, 332, 333 and 356.

The present is a time particularly noted in its demand for young men. Formerly those past middle life were better equipped. Didactic instruction and experience were assimilated slower than at present, and of necessity one was on in years before he matured. But now school training furnishes more adequate preliminary preparation for work than once was given; years of apprenticeship or indifferent performance are eliminated, and the worker early becomes a master where before he remained a novice. Moreover, present requirements are for a different sort of man. This is the era of the telephone, the telegraph and quick transportation. Alertness of mind is demanded in every field of activity; instantaneous decisions must be made, and success depends upon making these right. An earlier era required conservatism of action for which old men were best suited; the present demands freedom from tradition and promptness of action for which the spirit of young men is best suited.

One can readily satisfy himself of the prejudice against old men by observing the employing department of almost any large concern, or better yet by getting the experience of one above forty who is seeking employment. It is believed that men who have turned fifty are in danger of beginning to look back with pride on what they have accomplished, while what is most desired is men who will look forward with hope to future opportunity. The late William H. Baldwin, Jr., who was noted for his successful dealing with men and for his fair treatment of those under

him, declared it as his rule to mark a man for dismissal from his employ, when he found that there was a change from a forward to a backward look.

Some railroads and other corporations have made a rule not to take a man above thirty-five or forty,—at least not unless a director or some one high in authority approves. Such a rule may seem absurd, but we are challenged by the fact that it has been made, or while not made it is followed in effect. Men of advancing years have again and again been driven to suicide because they would not become dependents, and there was nothing for them to do.

Those above forty who seek employment must possess unusual talents, or their talents go a-begging. "Give us young men," is heard alike in the demands of the pulpit, the bar, the professorial chair, and the counting-house. Recent practices are so pronounced in the demand for young men as to present a problem of what to do with the superannuated. In an age when the spirit of benevolence is operating with increased effect the aged can neither be summarily dispatched, nor abandoned to die of want. The custom of primitive people of putting the aged to death has this in its favor: helpless and dependent men were not allowed to languish and die of neglect. The neglect of the incapacitated might seem more necessary in a warlike state of society, when fighting and migration were the requirements for existence, but with a settled condition of life and the accumulation of wealth society is better able to care for the infirm. Under

the conditions of earlier civilizations the rule may have been, "the strong shall consume the weak," but under present conditions the rule can and should be, "the strong shall care for the weak."

The fact that by the modern high-pressure production the workers are early incapacitated, and more largely so in America than in any other country, lends special significance to a discussion of this question. A late statement of the English Premier goes to the effect that, "the blood of the workmen is part of the cost of the product." It is his belief that the product should pay for the care of those who have produced it. And under the modern economic system old age is that period of life between the cessation of useful productive work and death.

Some would make the whole question a simple one by saying that the care for the aged is not a matter of any concern to any one except the aged themselves, that the responsibility is individual and that each one must make provision for his own retirement or incapacity or suffer the consequences. But society does not abandon its members to their individual destruction in other realms of its activity; why should it neglect them here?

The argument mentioned in the preceding paragraph presupposes that the workers in all callings have a fair wage, adequate to care for them during their whole lives. An adequate wage is, then, one sufficient to provide for daily necessity and to lay by a store sufficient to meet the contingencies of accident.

sickness and age. Now as a matter of fact, the daily wage is in many, or in most cases, only enough to provide for daily necessities, and no store is laid by for the need that is sure to come. One writer characterizes industry as "drinking the wine of the wage-earner's life," and leaving the "dregs to him or to society." It is a gloomy scene which Bishop Spaulding depicts of the multitude of old men and women who, having worn out health and strength in toil which barely gave them food and raiment, are thrust aside because "no longer fit to be bought and sold."¹

It does not meet the issue to say that the children of the aged should be made responsible. Many have no children; some children will not, or cannot, accept the extra burden of their parents' old age; and granting that the children do accept and carry the extra load, they are thereby prevented from making adequate provision for themselves, and thus the helplessness of the aged would be handed on and increased from generation to generation.

The largest gain from a system of old-age insurance lies in the consciousness that the community has done justice to those who are fairly claimants of its favor. The German Professor Wagner holds that the selfish social interests should not blind those who are to deal with this question, so that the merits of the case may not be considered from the highest grounds of general social welfare. Old-age relief should be regarded

¹ *Education and the Higher Life*, 18.

as a payment of a just obligation of society and not as a dole. State aid for free schools, and the services of the government for social well-being are justified from considerations of public good. So the State's relief for the incapacitated and the helpless is a means of promoting the general welfare of society.

True, some have seen in any movement for old-age relief the most objectionable aspects of state socialism. Says William H. Lecky: "I can hardly conceive of anything more certain to discourage thrift and sap the robust qualities of the English people than that the belief should grow up among the whole working population that they should look forward to the State and not to their own exertions to support them in their old age."

But the fears of the extreme individualists are groundless. Here, as elsewhere, wise governmental coöperation with individual effort can be a means of stimulating and directing individual effort. It is too much to ask the individual, under present conditions, to make full provision for his old age, but he can and will coöperate with the State, and do vastly more than he could do alone, and the State can act with him directing and supplementing his efforts. The aim should be to prevent pauperism and to provide decently for the helpless period in the lives of those who have done society's work. Already it looks as though the dream of yesterday were the realization of to-day. Non-contributory plans of old-age relief by the State in some countries, coöperative schemes between the

government and the beneficiaries in others, and benevolent and private enterprises in still others, are all different ways in which society is paying the obligation which it owes to the aged.

Germany was the first nation to deal with the question of old-age relief in any advanced way. Voluntary societies for the care of the aged had long existed in Germany, but the earliest law looking to this end was enacted in 1889, and this was supplemented in 1891, and reenacted in a more complete form in 1899. The present German enactment is said to be the direct result of a socialistic agitation dating back to 1863. Bismarck sought to strengthen the government by adopting a program of social reform in the interests of the working classes. First a sickness-insurance law was passed in 1883; this was extended to accident insurance in 1884, and was extended into the first old-age and invalidity act in 1889. The present German law is thus made to extend to cases of accident and invalidity as well as old age.

The German plan will be considered at some length because of what are believed to be its many admirable features, and also because of the influence it has had in shaping the policies of other countries. In the German scheme contributions are by the government, the insured and the employers. The German government is admirably adapted for the enforcement of insurance provisions, and the arrangement of local administration has worked most satisfactorily. The mutual provisions of the arrangement between employers and

employed, and the sense of independence among the workmen themselves are results worthy of note. Not the least important effect of the German plan is the moral effect upon the working classes and upon society in general. Class antagonisms are said to have been lessened in Germany as a result of these insurance provisions, and there has grown instead a sense of oneness of all classes, or social solidarity. No doubt the coöperative features of the German laws and the mutual advantages resulting from their administration have contributed to the results mentioned.

Certain classes are required to be insured under the German old-age law whether they wish to do so or not. These classes are briefly, first, those employed as laborers, journeymen, assistants, apprentices, and domestic servants receiving wages or salary; second, those employed as foremen and technical workers, clerks and business apprentices, employees whose service forms their chief means of income (such as teachers) and all persons receiving a yearly wage or salary of \$500.00 or less; and third, all persons employed on German ships whose yearly salary is \$500.00 or less.

In addition to the classes above mentioned other classes are given the privilege of entering into the German insurance agreement if they so wish. Voluntary old-age insurance is thus permitted to superintendents, foremen, business assistants, teachers, and ship captains whose yearly salary is between \$500 and \$750; also to traders and manufacturers who do not employ more than two workmen subject to insur-

ance; also to all persons who are engaged in the home industries and are not subject to the insurance obligations, and those who receive only board and lodging for their labor, or who are exempt from insurance because they are employed only temporarily.

The compulsory feature begins with the sixteenth year of age, and an old-age pension is granted at the completion of the seventieth year without proof of disability. To receive an old-age pension one must have paid a weekly contribution for twelve hundred weeks.

The cost in Germany is borne by the State, the employers and the employed. The Empire contributes to each annuity eleven dollars and ninety cents per year. The government also maintains the Imperial Insurance Department, and provides for the payment of the annuities through the postoffice. The German old-age law is under direction of the Central Imperial Insurance Department, which has thirty-one local insurance offices, each in one of the insurance districts into which Germany has been divided. Acting in conjunction with the thirty-one local insurance offices are special pension offices for the smaller political units. Each local office has in connection with its work a board of arbitration, consisting of a president, a vice-president, and two representatives each of the employers and the employed. Appeals may be taken from these boards to the Central Imperial Insurance Department.

A German employer is held for the insuring of all his employees, and he is authorized to deduct the

workman's share of the premiums from his wage. The method of payment and receipt is simple; the employer purchases insurance stamps from a local office, and these he attaches to a receipt card carried by the insured. The pension is made up of two parts, the fixed sum of eleven dollars and ninety cents (\$11.90) granted to all classes of pensioners, and an additional amount made up by contribution of equal parts by employers and employees. The supplementary part is determined by a classification into groups according to the rate of wages. There are five wage classes with weekly premiums and total annuities as follows: First, those with a yearly wage of less than \$87.50, weekly premium $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, annuity \$27.50; second, those with a yearly wage between \$87.50 and \$137.50, weekly premium 5 cents, annuity \$35.00; third, those with a yearly wage between \$137.50 and \$212.50, weekly premium 6 cents, annuity \$42.50; fourth, those with a yearly wage between \$212.50 and \$287.50, weekly premium $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents, annuity \$50.00; and fifth, those with a yearly wage above \$287.50, weekly premium 9 cents, annuity \$57.50.

With a population of sixty millions, Germany reported a total insurance of fourteen millions. Thus it would appear that nearly one-fourth the people in Germany are insured under the old-age law. At the same time there was in Germany an annuity roll of 110,969, which is probably much lower than may be expected after the system has been in operation a sufficient length of time to give all the insured the benefits

of the provisions. For the year 1906 the receipts from all sources were \$53,810,000, and of this amount the Imperial Government contributed ¹ \$11,985,000, and the employers and the employed each \$20,912,500.

France has a plan of old-age relief similar to that found in Germany. As early as 1850 the French government established a number of saving banks to stimulate thrift among the working classes. At a given age and after the payment of a required sum these banks paid annuities to depositors. But a new act for state aid to the aged and incapacitated was passed in 1905, and went into effect in 1907. Relief is extended to those above seventy years of age who are incapacitated and to those under seventy who are suffering from an incurable disease. The aid is not less than twelve dollars nor more than forty-eight dollars a year. The burden for this relief is mainly upon the central government and the local commune.

Belgium, Italy, Denmark and other nations have various forms of old-age relief, and the same is true of New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. New Zealand, with her tendency toward economic legislation, has enacted several laws, the one of 1905 showing the fullest development of the idea that the state should care for the aged. In New Zealand the beneficiaries are not required to make any contribution, and they can retire at sixty-five, with a maximum pension of \$130 per year. The New Zealand law followed some-

¹ *Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions*, Preliminary Report, 20-23.

what one passed in Denmark in 1891, which differed from the German practice in that the insured were not required to make contributions to the fund from which they received aid.

But it is in England that old-age pensions have been most discussed of late years, and that country has adopted policies which seem most far-reaching, if not revolutionary, in dealing with this question. For above a hundred and fifty years voluntary associations termed Friendly Societies (for the relief of those in need) have existed in Great Britain. Those societies, however, lacked stability and many of them failed, as has been true of numerous beneficial associations in the United States. Several Parliamentary commissions investigated this question and various schemes were proposed in the second half of the nineteenth century, the most definite and simple being that by General Charles Booth. General Booth proposed that all persons who had reached the age of sixty-five should receive from the public treasury 5 shillings weekly. Two arguments were urged in support of this proposal: first, as it was to be given to everyone, no one would feel pauperized in receiving it; and second, it was so small a sum that it would not tend to discourage thrift.

Various modifications of General Booth's plan were suggested, and all plans were bitterly opposed. Some objected to the principle on the ground that such a policy tended to paternalism and socialism; others objected to a non-contributory form of insurance, hold-

ing that if such were once adopted a coöperative scheme could not be resorted to later. Two claims were made for non-contributory old-age insurance in England. These were the abject need of many no longer able to work, and second, the due of these aged workers on the ground that they have by their labor already contributed to the wealth of the nation.

Old-age pensions became a government policy before the close of the nineteenth century, and in 1908 a law was enacted which went into effect January 1st, 1909. By this act an annuity of \$1.25 weekly is extended under the following conditions: The applicant must be above seventy years of age; he or she must have been for at least twenty years preceding the receiving of a pension a British subject and a resident of Great Britain; and the applicant must not have an annual income in excess of \$157.50. Minor grounds of disqualification are also provided, such as lunacy, alcoholism, and having received various forms of poor relief.

The maximum British old-age pension is \$1.25 per week, which is allowed to all whose yearly income is not in excess of \$105. As the income increases from \$105 to \$157.50, the weekly annuity decreases by a sliding scale from \$1.25 to \$0.25. When the income exceeds \$157.50 the annuity ceases. Under the British system both men and women are eligible.

The British system is administered through a central pension office, and local committees for boroughs and cities. All claims for pensions are presented

through the postoffices, and the pensions are paid by means of the same agency.¹

The British old-age-pension act is an abandonment of the earlier individualistic principle of the British government, and in principle it has been approved by both of the dominant parties and by the nation. The extra burdens imposed by this pension act forced the government, which was responsible for it, to the adoption of a new form of taxation, which has affected profoundly the economic system. Sufficient time has not elapsed for one to hazard an opinion as to the effect of these new measures, but certain it is that the nation has departed on a sea of new experiences.

Massachusetts has taken the earliest steps looking to possible old-age pensions in the United States. By act of 1907, the Governor was authorized to appoint a Commission on Old Age Pensions, Annuities, and Insurance, which commission was required to "investigate and consider the various systems of old-age insurance, or old-age pensions, or annuities, proposed or in operation" in that commonwealth or elsewhere, and to report on the advisability of establishing an old-age insurance or pension system for Massachusetts. A Commission of five persons was appointed in 1907, and in accordance with the terms of the act the Commission represented both employers and laborers. This Commission carried on investigations during 1908, and submitted a preliminary report in January of 1909.

¹ Barlow & Somme, *Old Age Pension Act*, 1908, 9-43.

The preliminary report was chiefly valuable because of two appendices, one giving a summary of old-age pension systems of foreign countries and the other a summary of the pension systems of American railroads and industrial corporations.

The Massachusetts Commission made its final report in 1910, and its recommendations, as were forecasted from its preliminary report and the press accounts of its investigations, were against the State inaugurating a system of old-age pensions. Instead, the Commission urged the good old Anglo-Saxon doctrine of teaching independence and aiding everyone to care for himself. To this end the recommendation is for compulsory instruction on thrift in the public schools. Employers and employees were commended to the saving-bank-insurance provisions to be noted below, and corporations were urged to provide insurance for their employees; municipal pension systems were approved; from considerations of both economy and efficiency. The Commission pointed out that a general law for old-age insurance should not be passed before additional measures were enacted for sickness and accident insurance.

A valuable part of the final report of the Massachusetts Commission is that which sets forth the various forms of old-age pensions now in force. These are of six types: First, universal non-contributing insurance, by which everyone who reaches a given age will receive a pension. Such was the plan proposed by General Booth in England and by Edward Everett Hale

in our own country; second, non-contributory, for those who meet certain conditions, as at present in operation in Great Britain and the Australian Colonies; third, compulsory contributory insurance with a state subsidy, as in Germany; fourth, voluntary contribution with a state subsidy, as in Belgium and France; fifth, voluntary insurance under state regulation but without state control, as illustrated by the Saving Bank Insurance of Massachusetts; sixth, voluntary insurance under private management.

The Massachusetts report is especially strong against any form of non-contributory insurance, as is evidenced by the following paragraph quoted from *The Survey* for January 5th, 1910: "A non-contributory pension system is simply a council of despair. If such a scheme be defensible or excusable in this country, then the whole economic and social system is a failure. The adoption of such a policy would be a confession of its breakdown. To contend that it is necessary to take this course is to assume that members of the working class either cannot earn enough or cannot save enough to take care of themselves in their old age. If that be true, then American democracy is in a state of decay."

The Massachusetts Commission recommended the creation of a permanent commission, which should serve without remuneration and continue the work of the Special Commission, and report from time to time the results of experiments being carried on in various parts of the world.

By act of 1907 the Massachusetts savings banks were authorized to open departments for life and annuity insurance. Within two years after this act went into operation two Massachusetts savings banks wrote over a million and a half dollars of insurance. An agent is kept in the field instructing the people on the advantages of this form of insurance, the rate of insurance is low, and the banks have been able to do the business at a profit. It is the belief of the Massachusetts Commission that this form of annuity insurance offers a desirable means for old-age relief. It has been claimed that 5 per cent of the wages of laborers during the working period of their lives would provide an annuity sufficient to care for them during their old age.

To make this sketch in any sense complete it will be necessary to describe forms of voluntary insurance under private management. Many railroads and other large employers of labor have inaugurated old-age retirement provisions, making these wholly or in part based upon the contributions of the beneficiaries. Even in cases where the laborers do not pay back a part of the wages paid to them, the operating companies are willing to acknowledge that the funds contributed by them are in the nature of deferred wages. And these contributions by the companies are warranted in the returns from improved service, and in the interest and good spirit which is secured from the employees. Thus old-age pensions are given by well-managed business concerns, not as a charity, not from any sentiment, but because the giving of them pays as a business proposition.

Railroading has been the leading, though by no means the only, branch of business to maintain a system of pensions for the aged employees. The reasons for this were strikingly illustrated a few years ago when a serious accident resulted from the lack of mental alertness of an engineer, who had been long in service, and was past the time of efficiency. More than a score of the railroads maintain pension systems. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad began the pension system among American railroads in 1884. The Pennsylvania early developed pensions on an extensive scale, and at present it is expending annually over \$500,000 for this purpose for those who have been employed on its lines east of Pittsburgh. The New York Central, the Boston and Maine, the Grand Trunk, and other great systems have followed in the lead of the Baltimore & Ohio and the Pennsylvania. The usual arrangement in all these plans is for the employee who has been ten, fifteen, twenty, or thirty or more years in service to retire on a percentage of his average salary, and to have this without any assessments or contributions on the part of the future pensioners. Railroad men report two results from the pension provision. The character of the service is improved through the retirement of old and incompetent employees; and second, a more efficient class of employee is called to the service and kept there.

Other transportation companies, such as steamboat and municipal traction corporations have also adopted a similar provision, as have numerous mining, manu-

facturing and merchandising concerns. From present tendencies it would seem that the large employer of labor who did not make provision for old-age employees would soon be the exception to a general practice. And naturally the concern which does not provide for the full life of its employees will not be able to get and keep the most desirable employees. Thus tendencies point to old-age pensions as part of our economic system.

In general, old-age pensions to employees are regarded as deferred wages, and the granting of them is considered as a good business policy, but in some cases such action has been made more of a philanthropy. The gift of Andrew Carnegie of four million dollars for the disabled and incapacitated employees of his old works about Pittsburgh is of the latter sort. This fund has later had added to it eight million dollars by the United States Steel Corporation.

An early form of old-age relief was practiced by the churches in caring for the superannuated ministers. It is a well-recognized fact that ministers are inadequately compensated, and to supplement their salaries the churches have for more than a century been doing something to care for those who are beyond the period of active service. This practice has grown into a tolerably well recognized branch of church work known as ministerial relief. The funds for such relief are contributed and the relief is extended and received not as a charity but as a return in part for the service which the aged minister has rendered to the church. One

need not attempt an argument for the justice of ministerial relief. Almost the only comment called for is the limited number of cases of such relief, and the mere pittance of which the relief consists. Many ministers have earned the right to retire on a competency who are still wearing out their lives in attempting to do a work which is beyond their failing strength, and at retirement men of refinement and education should not be expected to live on the usual three or four hundred dollars which is the common allowance in ministerial relief as at present administered.

Up to this time pensions by the federal government have been restricted to soldiers and sailors, and a few judges who have been retired. Our government early felt the obligation to care for those who had fought in its defence, and the soldiers of the Revolution were pensioned, as have been those of every war since. Our military and naval pensions have been liberal, and the present practice of retiring from the navy and army at 62 and 64 years of age, and on three-fourths pay, is a generous provision.

Numerous bills have been introduced into Congress in recent years looking to the establishment of a civil pension for the aged employees of the government. President Taft urged civil pensions in his annual message of 1909 on grounds of efficiency and economy. No administrative agent wishes to turn aged employees out of positions which afford them their only means of livelihood, and the result is many incompetent helpers in the various branches of the government service.

The United States is one of the very few nations which have not a civil pension for the retirement of aged employees, and the company which she keeps in the present policy is not particularly to her credit, for almost the only other nations with her in this particular are Venezuela, Colombia and Hayti. The sentiment grows for a civil pension in the United States, and a few years will likely see some form of old-age retirement as a part of our federal system.

The states have done little in the direction of old-age pension legislation. Special acts for policemen and firemen have been passed in various states, and other forms of old-age relief are permitted under state laws. These latter have been mostly the result of municipal activities which have been authorized by state enactments.

Private initiative and government action tend to make provision for old age. Considerations of economic well-being and of social justice alike demand that those who have done worthy work shall be cared for during their whole lives. Old-age pensions in some form are humanitarian; they are also in the direction of sound business policy. Altogether some form of coöperative or contributory old-age insurance seems open to fewer objections. This does not destroy the sense of responsibility of the insured, and it also enables the insured to have some part in the insurance administration, either directly or through the government. The world has progressed far since the incapacitated were abandoned to die. Much remains to be done in adequately caring for the aged.

XI.

RETIREMENT FUNDS FOR TEACHERS.

THE last ten or a dozen years have seen a wide application of the principle of old-age relief to teachers of all grades from the primary school to the university. This was opposed in some quarters with the argument that adequate salaries should be paid and individuals left to care for themselves, and also that such a policy would lead to socialism by opening the way for all other classes to make demands that they be granted the same privileges. But appropriation of public funds for the establishment and the continuance of retirement fund plans for teachers has been well justified on the ground that the nature of the teacher's service is such that he has earned the right to some provision for his old age by the community for which he has labored. Here surely is the place for an application of Premier Asquith's statement, "The blood of the workman is part of the cost of the product." Nor can there be observed the threatened avalanche of socialism which was held to be impending if once was recognized the principle of community old-age relief to a single class.

Everywhere the importance of the teacher's office is

recognized, and that this importance may be realized the teacher should be freed from solicitude for old age. The provision for a retirement fund carries with it security of tenure, and these two cannot fail to attract and retain a better grade of teacher than would otherwise be secured. The freedom from anxiety which a retirement fund gives will also tend to the improvement of those already in service as teachers. Teachers should avail themselves of opportunities for self-improvement, and when freed from the necessity of laying by all possible for the dreaded time of dismissal they can invest their surplus earnings in professional betterment, and thereby increase their usefulness and add to life's satisfactions.

European countries have led the United States in a recognition of the dignity of the teacher's calling through the establishing of pensions. In this country the principle was first recognized in our higher institutions, and Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Cornell, and other universities provided that men who had served them for a term of years, usually twenty or more, and who had reached sixty or sixty-five years of age, should be retired on such a percentage of their salaries as would afford them a means of livelihood. This action was taken, in part, in recognition of the rights of the students of the universities, whose due it is to have men as teachers who are at their best, and also in recognition of the rights of the professors themselves, whose due it is to be relieved of the arduous labors of their positions when they reach a time of declining powers.

Important contributions have been made towards furnishing retiring allowances to teachers in higher institutions by the gifts of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. In 1905 Mr. Carnegie addressed an open letter to twenty-five gentlemen whom he had selected to act as trustees of a fund he proposed to give. At the outset he voiced his opinion that teaching was the poorest paid of the professions, and that in consequence many able men hesitated to adopt it as a calling. The retirement fund for the teachers of New York City was mentioned with approval, but Mr. Carnegie drew attention to the fact that the higher institutions generally had not been able to extend like treatment to the old men in their service.

The first gift under the Carnegie Foundation was of \$10,000,000, the income of which was to be applied to supplying pensions for teachers of colleges, universities, and technical schools in the United States, Canada, and New Foundland. This fund was three years later increased by a gift of \$5,000,000 additional. Sectarian institutions and state-supported institutions were excluded in the first grant, though in 1908, by means of a supplementary gift, the Foundation was made to extend to state-supported institutions.. This latter action resulted from a somewhat insistent demand of the state universities that they be included in the benefits of the Foundation. It was held by those administering the state universities that unless they could participate they would lose their more desirable teachers to the institutions that could hold out

the attractions of possible retirement under this Foundation. Happily, the founder relieved the situation by his second bequest. In addition to the other rules governing institutions which are admitted to the benefits of the Foundation, tax-supported colleges, universities, and technical schools are required to present the request of their governing boards, approved by the governors of the states and the state legislatures of the states in which the institutions are located.

The Board early decided that the Foundation should attempt to be more than a "distributing agency" for pensions. The purposes, as stated in the charter, are "to do and perform all things necessary to encourage, uphold, and dignify the profession of the teacher and the cause of higher education." The Foundation has amply demonstrated that it is "not a charity, but an educational agency."

Many careful observers hold that the prohibition against sectarian institutions has been a means of restricting religious education. Certain it is that several institutions, in order to enjoy the benefits of the Foundation, have passed from the control of denominational boards, and have given up their former direct denominational affiliations, though this by no means necessitates that they cease to be institutions for religious education.

Though the Carnegie Foundation has been in existence but a few years, it has rendered conspicuous service to the calling of teaching. The aim of the Foundation, as expressed in its full corporate title, has been

realized to a remarkable degree, and to the specific work of affording relief to the aged and incapacitated professors, and to the widows of professors, there has been added a helpful influence in the standardizing of colleges, universities, professional schools, and even of preparatory schools.

In a country such as ours where there is no national supervision of education, and where state supervision is quite indefinite and dissimilar, a central body which shall ascertain facts and draw comparisons can be of great service, and the numerous reports and bulletins of the Carnegie Foundation have been interesting and helpful. Some have spoken slightly of the Foundation and its work, terming it an "educational trust," a "pension trust," etc., but a fair judgment on the whole work of the Carnegie trustees warrants the statement that they have administered the Foundation "for the advancement of teaching," and in many respects the gift of Mr. Andrew Carnegie for pensioning college teachers is the most far-reaching and beneficent act of any one man for the upbuilding of the teaching profession.

Particularly has the Foundation been of service because of the liberal and generous spirit of the administrators. Especially meritorious cases have been rendered aid by grants from the Board quite aside from any institutional affiliations. The high plane on which the Foundation was placed has made retirement by it a badge of honorable distinction, not an evidence of accepting charity.

Under the Carnegie Foundation no retiring allowance can be for more than \$4,000 per year. For those who receive a salary of \$1,200 or less the allowance is fixed at \$1,000. The annuities are thus made to range from \$1,000 to \$4,000 per year, but with provision that a retiring allowance shall not be in excess of 90 per cent of the salary received at the time of retirement. The exact amount between \$1,000 and \$4,000 is determined by adding to the minimum allowance \$50 additional for each \$100 by which the retiring salary is in excess of \$1,200. Those professors who are eligible to grants from their own institutions may draw these without invalidating their allowance from the Carnegie Foundation.

The conditions of retirement during the first three or four years of the Foundation's existence were unusually liberal, college professors having claims after twenty-five years of service irrespective of age and disability. Experience, however, led to the adoption of a disability clause and a rule of eligibility, as follows: "Any person who has had twenty-five years of service as a professor or thirty years' service as professor and instructor, and who is at the time either a professor or an instructor in an accepted institution, shall, in the case of disability unfitting him for work of teacher, approved by medical examination, be entitled to a retiring allowance."

The terms of granting annuities for disability are less generous than they are for annuities on account of age. Any person in an accredited institution who

has seen service for not less than fifteen years as a professor or for not less than twenty-five years as an instructor, and who has reached the age of sixty-five years, is entitled to a retiring allowance irrespective of disability. In 1910 there was on the accepted list of the Carnegie Foundation a total of seventy-one institutions. In addition to pensions in these, retiring allowances have been awarded to those in seventy-one other institutions. One hundred and fifty-five such allowances have been granted, aggregating an annual payment in 1909 of \$144,000. Action was taken in 1910 looking to a more restricted application of the policy of outside allowances in the future. This action was based on the more accurate information of the various institutions in the possession of the Foundation and the increasing demands from those in accepted institutions. It was therefore voted that retiring allowances should not be allowed to those outside of the accepted list, except to especially worthy cases in institutions whose standards are known to be such that within a short time they will be ready for admission to the Foundation.

In 1899, Lewis Elkin left to the administration of the Philadelphia Board of Education a fund now amounting to a million and three-quarters dollars, the income of which is to be used for annuities to the needy, aged and incapacitated women teachers of the city. Mr. Elkin had been a member of the Philadelphia Board of Education, and in that capacity he had

observed what any discerning person may observe, that there are many teachers in service who are dragging out their lives because they have not the means on which to retire, and there are others who, when retired, are reduced to the direst want. For women who had served in the schools of the city for at least twenty-five years and who were not able to continue, and who were in need of the annuity, he provided an allowance of \$400 annually. This bequest preceded the establishment of a general retirement fund, and since the establishment of the latter the two have been administered in coöperative relations. The Elkin fund has thus become in effect an endowment to the Teacher's Retirement Fund of Philadelphia.

The establishment of retirement funds for teachers of the public schools was begun by voluntary associations among teachers, providing for incapacity, death benefits and old-age annuity insurance. These associations were voluntary and naturally were not able to get and keep any large proportion of teachers as members. Of the forty-eight teachers' retirement funds in existence in the United States in 1909, 17 per cent were still of the "mutual benefit" sort, financed entirely by the teachers themselves. To such a voluntary insurance there will always be the objection which is urged against fraternal insurance in any form; the young person does not wish to come into an association and share *pro rata* in carrying the burdens of older members. The membership and income thus fail to keep pace with the increasing demands of an earlier

membership. In some places such voluntary associations have been successful in securing appropriations of public funds to carry out the purposes for which they were established. All such associations rendered service in the beginning of the retirement fund plans, and some of them were merged into one of the forms of teachers' pensions to be described below.

Legislation for teachers' retirement fund plans have been along two lines, either the establishment of a state fund for all the teachers of a given state, or acts giving authority for a city or other local unit to organize such a fund, or providing the details of such an organization in the acts themselves. Early acts making membership of teachers already in service compulsory were found to be unconstitutional because of their impairment of the validity of contracts. In all subsequent legislation provision is made for teachers who are in service to join if they wish, but in joining they accept the terms of the retirement plan as a part of their contract. In addition, these later acts have usually required the acceptance of the provisions of a teachers' retirement fund as a condition of accepting appointment as a teacher. In the places where the retirement fund has been established the teachers already engaged have accepted its terms practically unanimously, and with the compulsory requirement for all new teachers a permanent membership is assured.

Retirement fund plans are generally regarded as coöperative enterprises. In two-thirds of the forty-eight plans reported to the Bureau of Labor in 1909,

the support came in part from the public treasury and in part from the contributions of the teachers. Teacher contributions have several advantages. First, they put the fund before the teachers themselves and before the public in a better light. The teachers are thus regarded as working with the government to accomplish a given desirable result. There is an encouragement to thrift and a growth in self-respect from teachers doing something for themselves. More than this, through teacher-contribution there may be introduced teacher-participation in the management. In thirty-six of the funds above mentioned the teachers have a part in the administration. In several of the largest funds teachers or former teachers have served as secretaries and chief executive officers. The advantages are obvious for teachers having to do with those of their own calling in arranging for the terms and conditions of their retirement.

Six of the forty-eight funds above mentioned are organized on a state basis. The states having retirement funds for all their teachers are Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Virginia. Of the states just named two only, viz., Maryland and Rhode Island, supply all the revenue through appropriations from the public treasury.

New Jersey has the most effective state pension arrangement for its teachers. This is a result of a joint administration of a voluntary teachers' retirement fund plan established in 1896 and a state half-pay district pension law enacted in 1903. Under the

present arrangement in New Jersey the state bears the expense of administration of the voluntary organization. The latter organization is supported by the regular contributions of its members, income on invested funds, donations and gifts. Those who have served ten years and under are required to contribute two per cent of their salary, those over ten years and under fifteen years two and one-half per cent, those fifteen and over three per cent, but no one is required to contribute more than \$50 in a given year. Those who have served twenty years as teachers in New Jersey and are incapacitated, and have paid in at least one full annuity, are eligible to retirement at six-tenths of their salary, but with the provision that no annual annuity shall be for less than \$250 or for more than \$650.

The half-pay pension law of New Jersey is carried out by local school boards. This law provides that teachers who have been thirty-five years in the service in the state and twenty years in the given district may be, at the discretion of the school board, retired on one-half of their average annual salary for the five years preceding. This act is thus made to operate as a part of the salary arrangement of a given board. Thus a local board may allow a teacher who fulfils the conditions a half of her former salary, and carry her name on the salary roll, allowing her to be free from regular duty. In certain cases these teachers are called on for special duties.

It should be noted that the same teacher may in New Jersey be retired under the voluntary plan and

also under the local half-pay pension law, and some have been so retired. The New Jersey laws for teachers' retirement have been beset by many obstacles, legal and otherwise, but they have passed these safely and the teachers of New Jersey have the most generous and rational plan for retirement in operation in any state in America. That this is true is largely due to the efforts of one woman in the city of Hoboken.

The most common form of pensions for teachers of the public schools is the provision made by a given city for those who work in its schools, regarding these as municipal employees. Precedent for this arrangement was found in the policemen's and firemen's pension funds widely established, and generally approved. In most cases the teachers' retirement funds are maintained as are the policemen's and firemen's pensions, *i. e.*, by joint contributions of the municipality and those who are to be the beneficiaries. Nearly all the large cities of the country, and many smaller cities as well, now have pension provisions operating for their teachers. Across the country we find Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, not to mention such cities as Washington, D. C., Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and New Orleans. In New York state alone the list of retirement fund cities is impressive, including Greater New York, Albany, Buffalo, Elmira, Rochester, Schenectady, Syracuse, Troy, and Yonkers.

In most of the cities above mentioned there is a per-

centage basis of contribution by the teachers, with a fixed maximum. There is also usually provided a graduated annuity based on salary at the time of retirement, or the average for the five years preceding this time, but there is also generally a fixed minimum and maximum annuity. Chicago, Boston, and Detroit began their retirement funds with a uniform contribution from all teachers who joined, and provided for the same annuities to all who retired. But the contributions were made so low, to make it possible for the low-salaried teachers to pay without hardship, that there was not sufficient revenue to provide suitable annuities for retirement. The best experience points to contributions graded according to salaries, at least within certain limits, and also based upon years of experience.

Two retirement fund plans for cities are representative of the ways in which such funds may be established. The first is that for Greater New York, where the law from the state legislature provides the terms and conditions of the fund; the second is that for Philadelphia, where the provisions for the fund have been worked out and adopted by the city, an act of authorization only having been passed by the state legislature.

The New York retirement fund as now existing is compulsory upon all teachers appointed to the public schools of Greater New York. The present fund was formed in 1902 by the consolidation of voluntary organizations which has been established in Manhattan in 1894, and in Brooklyn in 1895. The Board of Re-

tirement in New York has seven members, as follows: the President of the Board of Education, the Chairman of the Committee on High Schools, the Chairman of the Committee on Elementary Schools, the Superintendent of Schools, and three other persons elected by the members from principals, assistants to principals, and teachers of the public schools. After thirty years of service, fifteen of which shall have been in the public schools of New York, any teacher may retire at his or her own request, providing he or she is recommended by the Board of Retirement and the recommendation is approved by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Education.

Under the New York law the fund is maintained by an appropriation of five per cent of all the excise moneys of the city, a contribution of one per cent of the salary of all the teachers, but no contribution shall be for more than \$30 for a teacher and more than \$40 for a supervising officer. The fund also receives the deductions which are made from the teachers' salaries because of absence. In round figures, the income of the New York fund is about \$850,000, made up of some \$300,000 for deductions because of absence, about the same amount from five per cent of the excise taxes, and nearly or quite \$250,000 in contributions from members. Any unexpended balance from any year's income may be at the end of the year transferred to the permanent funds. Any part of the permanent funds in excess of \$800,000 may be drawn upon in case of need to pay the annuities of a current year.

This arrangement assures a permanent fund of at least \$800,000. The New York retirement fund has at present a permanent fund of above a million dollars.

Under the New York plan teachers may receive half pay, but no full annuity shall be for less than \$600. The maximum annuity shall be \$1,500, except for supervising officers, who may receive as high as \$2,000. The total number of annuitants on February 1st, 1909 was 1,033. This was over five per cent of the total employment roll of the department of instruction of the city. Those having to do with the administration of the New York plan express the opinion that they have not yet their full complement of annuitants, that about eight per cent of a teaching force may be considered as the normal number who will be on retirement when a retirement arrangement is in full effect.

From the foregoing it will be seen that there are various forms of old-age relief for teachers. Broadly, we might distinguish between pensions and retiring allowances, the former being given outright without contribution on the part of the beneficiaries and without their participation in the management. A much more common and more desirable form of relief is a co-operative enterprise between the teachers and the community. Both are the gainers, and both may by rights be asked to make contributions. Both should also participate in the management. The participation of the teachers as a class in the contributions and administration makes for the solidarity of the teachers

as a class and gives them interest and confidence in a retirement fund plan. If the community makes all the contribution, the danger is that the pension will be looked upon as a charity, or a dole. On the other hand, the entire contribution and management by teachers imposes a burden too heavy and the arrangement is one-sided. An association for retirement among teachers alone cannot well be made compulsory as to membership, and it is almost sure to fail sooner or later. It is only when an organization of teachers coöperates with the government that the elements necessary to success are brought into relation.

The forms of teachers' retirement funds are various and altogether the results of the several experiments are inconclusive, but the laws and plans are being amended and perfected. Insurance experience and tables of life-expectancy have furnished valuable data. Some of the funds have accumulated a considerable surplus. Then, as a result of the compulsory feature, they have an assured and increasing membership. The prospects for several of the funds seem most encouraging.

Retirement funds have made more attractive the calling of the teacher. Where introduced they have dignified and ennobled the teacher's work; they have given to teachers independence and self esteem which could not otherwise have been secured. Not only is there, as a result of these funds, the community consciousness of having dealt justly by the teachers, but there is also the certainty of having given to the chil-

dren their due in not keeping in the schools teachers who are incapacitated for efficient service. Thus in every way there is gain as a result of the existence of retirement funds for teachers, and their wide adoption is an evidence that their worth is being generally recognized.

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